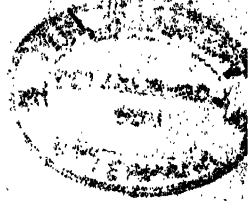


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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1915

COMMENTS ON CURRENT EVENTS

THE SULTANATE OF EGYPT.

There are many who think that this is indeed the darkest hour in the history of Islam, and all must sympathize with the trials and sufferings of the Faithful. But out of evil often comes good, and the darkest hour precedes the dawn.

The setting up of the new Sultanate on the banks of the Nile is, we think, a turning-point in the fortunes of Egypt, and must have an effect on Muhammadans throughout the world. Supremacy is being wrested from the hands of a few politicians in Constantinople, who are, for the moment, guiding the fortunes of Turkey, and who have sought to convert the War into a "Holy War" at the dictation of Germany. This move was a gambler's throw at the best, and has never had any chance of success. At the very start it has been checkmated by the protests of the majority of the Faithful, and by the statesmanship of the British Government. The spiritual supremacy of the Khaliph remains intact, while the suzerainty of Turkey, which had often only been made use of for replenishing the Ottoman Treasury, has now been brushed aside. Egypt, while remaining faithful to the Faith, has been liberated from political thralldom, and has been placed in a position to develop her national existence under the control of her own Sultan, safeguarded

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by the benevolent protection of Great Britain.* The Headship of the Khaliph has not been challenged. He is still supreme, but without such supremacy implying sanction of arbitrary interpretation of the Faith in spiritual matters as the successor of the Prophet; Islam means resignation to Divine Will, and connotes peace. Thus, as a Faith, it is the absolute negation of Prussian militarism. The attempt to wed Islam to the politics of the Wilhelmstrasse is itself an outrage, based on malevolence and ignorance. We have no desire to join in the chorus of abuse of the Teuton, but let us go so far as to remind the Germans that there are some Eastern truths which are beyond the comprehension of mere material scholarship. We are well aware that Islam, ranking (as the very word itself implies) as a religion of peace, has many adherents in Europe, and we do not deny that it gains many sincere disciples. But when we hear that the Germans in Turkey are now making a pretence of embracing the Muhammadan Faith for transparently political purposes, it is high time to protest against an empty and blundering hypocrisy.

As to the position and attitude of the Indian Muhammadan troops, there never was any question. They are faithful subjects of the King-Emperor, and will fight for him and for his supremacy against any foes, irrespective of religious affinities, just as the Roman Catholics of Ireland and the Protestants of England fight against their co-religionists of Germany and Austria in this greatest of wars.

Indians of all classes and of all shades of political opinion pray for the success of the British arms, and the Muhammadans of Egypt and of India are at one in their deter-

* Whilst not vouching for the accuracy or reliability of the statement, it may yet be of interest to record that the writer was informed, from what should be an authoritative Turkish source, that during the reign of the Sultan Abdul Hamid a proposal to place Egypt under British protection, and for Turkey to enter into a close defensive and offensive alliance with Great Britain, was made by the former, but could meet with no response from Great Britain at the time.

mination that Great Britain shall prevail in the present struggle.

As Prince Said Mahmed Ali Halin declares :

"All Egyptians will rejoice in the thought that England, the friend of the weak and the oppressed, is guarding the interests of their beloved native country and helping her on towards a glorious future. Every Egyptian will pray for the speedy victory of Great Britain and her Allies over Germany, which has shown herself to be the oppressor of the poor and the weak."

H. L.

JAPAN'S REVENGE.

Mr. Shinji Ishii, who has lately returned from Japan, points out in an article in this issue some of the causes of the antipathy felt by our Eastern ally towards Germany. The naval scandal was largely due to German firms, whose material we may suppose was on a par with the "Krupp" guns supplied for the Liège forts and Antwerp.

"Current Opinion" quotes that the Japanese vernacular papers hold Emperor William responsible for the "Yellow Peril" issue. They add that Germany is making a new anti-Japanese crusade in the United States.

• On Germany, finally, is now laid responsibility for the war with Russia. Germany was at the bottom of the scheme to force Japan's evacuation of Port Arthur after the war with China, France and Russia playing but a minor part. This is proved by the memoirs of Count Hayashi, the distinguished Japanese diplomatist who died lately. Official Tokyo prohibited the publication of these memoirs, but they got into the European dailies notwithstanding. In the memoirs Hayashi states that when the three ministers came to him with the demand to evacuate Port Arthur, the French and Russian were content to make the request that the place be handed back to China. The German minister acted differently, threatening war, and assuring Hayashi that Japan could never face Russia, France, and Germany combined. "Herein was an insult the Japanese have never forgotten."

THE LAST CHAPTER OF THE HAPSBURGS.

It has often been prophesied that the defeat of Turkey in the Balkans would lead to the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The difficulties that have beset the Hapsburg régime during the last century have admittedly been enormous: the conglomeration of races of divergent ideals, languages, and religions, the cumulative effect of the many forms of hatred to which they gave rise, the frankly anti-imperial and separatist tendencies of the inhabitants on the confines of rival States (Pan-Germans in Bohemia, pro-Russians in Galicia, pro-Rumanians in Transylvania, Irredentists in the Trentino) might well have appalled the most enlightened of statesmen. But, so far from exhibiting qualities at all commensurate with the situation, the Hapsburg Government has been content to follow feebly at all times a policy of momentary expediency and opportunism, dictated by the line of least resistance.

We believe that the late Archduke Francis Ferdinand was an exception to this rule. In a leading article of one Vienna daily, which appeared soon after his murder, his supposed adherence to a policy friendly to Russia is discussed. It is also well known that he sympathized with the Southern Slavs, and favoured "Illyrianism." The late Archduke was always an enigma to his contemporaries, and his real attitude towards the Triple Alliance was never known, but it is just possible that, if he had ascended the throne, he would have been content to remain a spectator in Germany's wars of ambition, and not have allowed his country to become merely a second-string to Prussian militarism.

The Hapsburg experiment has failed, because it was doomed to failure; but that failure would not have been so catastrophical if there had been an honest attempt at trying to conciliate its critics. The policy of "*Divide and Rule*" was a cynical admission of a state of affairs which amounted to government for the sake of a hierarchy instead of for the people.

THE INDIAN FORCES IN FRANCE

BY AN EYE-WITNESS (E. CHARLES VIVIAN)

ABOUT two score Indians marched solemnly down the Rue Faidherbe in Boulogne, going toward the Gare Maritime on some errand or other, under the charge of a corporal of the Army Service Corps. They were short men, marching without overcoats, and they gave no sign of being other than comfortable, although the bitterest of December winds blew from off the sea down the narrow streets, and a fine sleet whipped faces and unprotected hands. A newspaper correspondent stood on the step of the Hôtel Métropole as the little party went by.

"They look rather small and thin," he said, "but they're fine fighters, these Gurkhas."

On the shoulder-strap of each man was the word "Carnatic," but it was all one to the newspaper correspondent.

There are no less than thirty-nine regiments of horse in the native Indian Army, and in all the list neither the word Sikh nor the word Gurkha appears; with one or two blanks the infantry range from the 1st Brahmans to the 130th Baluchis, in addition to ten regiments (or battalions) of Gurkha Rifles, and in this infantry list are included Rājputs, Jats, Bhopalese, Punjabis, Dogras, Garhwali, Pathans, Merwara, Carnatic, Deccani, Mahratta, Hāzara, and Baluchis—the Sikhs and Gurkhas are no more con-

spicuous than the rest. Certainly they are first-class fighters, but then, so are the Pathans, the Baluchis, the Jat and Rajput men—any one class or breed that one may choose to pick out has its virtues, and this business of picking out and advertising two particular races, that they may bear all the glory gained by the rest as well as their own share, is at once fatuous and misleading.

The normal strength of the Indian Army, exclusive of British units garrisoned in the country, is about 162,000 officers and men. To these must be added a force of Imperial Service troops, approximating a strength of 22,000, with a force of about 39,000 volunteers, and a Reserve of regulars amounting to about 35,000. The first beginnings of this magnificent force were a gun-team of thirty men under the charge of one officer, in the days of the Honourable East India Company, which was the controlling head of the Indian Army up to the days of the Mutiny, after which the troops were taken over by the British Indian Government. With the exception of thirteen units of artillery—twelve mountain batteries and the Frontier Garrison Artillery, belonging to the Punjab Frontier Force—the Indian Artillery was abolished after the Mutiny. Unlike the Royal Artillery of the British service, the mountain batteries of the Indian Army carry colours, the most honours being borne by the 22nd Derajāt Mountain Battery, which bears seven honours, ranging from “Charasiah” to “Tirah.” The twelve batteries are numbered from 21 to 32, and, in the order of their numbers, are: the Kohat, Derajāt, Peshawar, and Hazara Mountain Batteries of the Frontier Force; the 25th and the 26th Jacob’s Mountain Batteries of the Bombay command; the 27th and 28th Mountain Batteries of the Bengal command; and the 29th to 32nd Mountain Batteries without any particular territorial designation.

The Cavalry consists of the Governor-General’s Body-guard, with seven battle honours on their colours; the Governor’s Bodyguard of Madras, of Bombay and of

Bengal (three separate units); and the thirty-eight regiments of cavalry of the line, numbered from 1 to 39, with number 24 missing. The Guides of the Frontier Force, a unit stationed permanently on the frontier, also contains three squadrons of cavalry, in addition to its battalion of infantry. For Indian garrison formations, two native regiments of cavalry are brigaded with each British Cavalry regiment.

Nineteen of the line regiments of cavalry are apportioned to the Bengal command, these being the 1st (Duke of York's or Skinner's Horse), the 2nd Lancers or Gardner's Horse, the 3rd (Skinner's Horse), the 4th Cavalry, the 5th Cavalry, the 6th (King Edward's Own), the 7th Haryana Lancers, the 8th Cavalry, the 9th (Hodson's Horse), the 10th (Duke of Cambridge's Own or Hodson's Horse), the 11th (King Edward's Own or Probyn's Horse), the 12th Cavalry, the 13th (Duke of Connaught's Lancers or Watson's Horse), the 14th (Murray's Jat Lancers), the 15th Lancers, also known as Curzon's Multanis, the 16th and 17th Cavalry, the 18th (King George's Own Lancers), and the 19th Lancers or Fane's Horse. The 20th (Deccan Horse) count with the Hyderabad contingent, while the 21st (Prince Albert Victor's Own or Daly's Horse), the 22nd (Sam Browne's Cavalry), the 23rd Cavalry and the 25th Cavalry, rank as Punjab Cavalry. The 26th (King George's Own Light Cavalry), and the 27th and 28th Light Cavalry are all Madras Lancers; the 29th Lancers (Deccan Horse) and the 30th Lancers (Gordon's Horse) count with the Hyderabad contingent; the 31st (Duke of Connaught's Own Lancers), the 32nd Lancers, the 33rd (Queen Victoria's Own Light Cavalry), the 34th (Prince Albert's Own Poona Horse), the 35th (Scinde Horse), the 36th (Jacob's Horse), the 37th Lancers (Baluchi Horse), are all Bombay Cavalry; the 38th (King George's Own Central India Horse), and the 39th with a similar title, state the place of origin by their names.

Reference has already been made to the composition of

the Artillery; there are also three units of Sappers and Miners, two Railway Companies, four Divisional Signal Companies and one Wireless Signal Company, the whole corresponding to Royal Engineers of the British Army. It is worthy of note in passing that neither Engineers nor any departmental corps of the British Army serve in India, their places being taken by men trained from the various combatant units.

The Indian Infantry consists of the 1st Brahmans, the 2nd (Queen Victoria's Own Rajput Light Infantry), the 3rd Brahmans, the 4th (Prince Albert Victor's Rajputs), the 5th Light Infantry, the 6th (Jat Light Infantry), the 7th (Duke of Connaught's Own Rajputs), and the 8th Rajputs—all Bengal Infantry; the 9th (Bhopal Infantry); the 10th Jats, the 11th Rajputs, the 12th Pioneers, and the 13th Rajputs—all Bengal Infantry; the 14th (King George's Own Ferozepur Sikhs), and the 15th (Ludhiana Sikhs); the 16th Rajputs, the 17th Infantry, the 18th and 19th Infantry, the 20th (Duke of Cambridge's Own), the 21st and 22nd Punjabis, the 23rd Sikh Pioneers, the 24th to the 31st Punjabis, the 32nd Sikh Pioneers, the 33rd Punjabis, the 34th Sikh Pioneers, the 35th and 36th Sikhs, the 37th and 38th Dogras, the 39th (Garhwal Rifles), the 40th Pathans, the 41st Dogras—all Bengal Infantry; the 42nd (Deoli Regiment), the 43rd (Erinpura Regiment), the 44th (Merwara Infantry), the 45th (Rattray's Sikhs), the 46th Punjabis, the 47th Sikhs, the 48th Pioneers—all Bengal Infantry; the 51st, 52nd, 53rd, and 54th Sikhs, the 55th (Coke's Rifles), the 56th (Punjabi Rifles), the 57th (Wilde's Rifles, the 58th (Vaughan's Rifles), and the 59th (Scinde Rifles)—all counting with the Frontier Force; the 61st (King George's Own Pioneers), the 62nd Punjabis, the 63rd (Palamcottah Light Infantry), the 64th (Pioneers), the 66th, 67th, 69th, and 72nd Punjabis, the 73rd Carnatic, the 74th Punjabis, the 75th Carnatic, the 76th Punjabis, the 79th Carnatic, the 80th Carnatic, the 81st Pioneers, the 82nd Punjabis, the 83rd (Wallajabad Light Infantry),

the 84th Punjabis, the 86th Carnatic, the 87th Punjabis, the 88th Carnatic, the 89th Punjabis, the 90th, 91st, and 92nd Punjabis, and the 93rd (Burmah Infantry)—all Madras Infantry; the 94th and 95th (Russell's Infantry), the 96th (Berar Infantry), the 97th, 98th, and 99th (Deccan)—all belonging to the Hyderabad Contingent; the 101st (Grenadiers), the 102nd (King Edward's Own Grenadiers), the 103rd (Mahratta Light Infantry), the 104th (Wellesley's Rifles), and the 105th (Mahratta Light Infantry)—all Bombay Infantry; the 106th (Hazara Pioneers), whose title defines their locality; the 107th Pioneers, the 108th and 109th Infantry, the 110th (Mahratta Light Infantry), the 112th and 113th Infantry, the 114th, 116th, and 117th Mahrattas, the 119th (Mooltan Regiment), the 120th Rajputanas, the 121st Pioneers, the 122nd Rajputanas, the 123rd (Outram's Rifles), the 124th (Duchess of Connaught's Own (Baluchistan Infantry), the 125th (Napier's Rifles), the 126th (Baluchistan Infantry), the 127th (Queen Mary's Own Baluch Light Infantry), the 128th (Pioneers), the 129th (Duke of Connaught's Own Baluchis), and the 130th (King George's Own Baluchis)—all Bombay Infantry. It will be noted that several numbers are left unfilled in this list; there are no regiments to correspond to them. As for the Gurkhas, they form ten battalions of Rifles of which the first has scarlet facings to its dark green uniforms and all the rest are uniformed in dark green with black facings.

The exact strength and composition of the Indian Expeditionary Force have not been made public, and all that can be said is that the contingent is representative of the Indian Army—honours will be equally shared between the various races of India when the reckoning is made. Bearing in mind the bases on which British rule in India is founded, it could not well be otherwise, and yet we hear of nought but Sikhs and Gurkhas, just as all the valour of the British Regular Army has gone for nothing in the eyes of the newspaper men that the London Scottish may be glorified. Not that these things are intentional slights perpetrated

by the newspaper correspondents, but the latter know no better.

A very common misconception with regard to the Indian troops is that they are all to be "blooded" in this campaign—that they have had no more experience of active service than had the 21st Lancers at Omdurman—or rather, before Omdurman. Some of the Indian regiments have a dozen or more battle honours on their colours, ranging from the days of the old John Company up to Afghan, Indian Frontier, Egyptian and 1900 China campaigns. As for their ways of fighting, a young European officer of Baluchis testified to the habits of his own men—

"You know," he said, "how you hold back a horse till the moment comes in a race when you want every ounce, and you know how you unhood and then let slip the falcon. The same applies to these men—you must hold them back till the exact moment, and then just let go. After that, you need not worry about words of command, or anything of the sort—you may just sit down and smoke while they 'clean up,' as it is sometimes expressed. They go in as happy as sandboys, and come out grinning from ear to ear, having enjoyed themselves hugely. Our men leave nothing to chance, once you let them go: they clean up quite scientifically; and when they come back it's all over, and you can just form them up and go back to camp. As to stopping them once they have gone in—well, have you ever tried to stop the wind?"

This description concerned a previous campaign in which the regiment referred to had been in action several times, and one may take it as applying to the fighting in France and Flanders, from all accounts. They work under shell fire as stolidly as those men of the Carnatic marched through the streets of Boulogne, regarding the shells with the same amount of concern as they accorded to the biting wind and driving sleet. They watch their comrades fall—such as fall before their turn comes to charge—without emotion, for to the Muhammadan it is the will of Allah, and to the Hindu the decree of Parmashvar.

One point worthy of note is the way in which the Indian troops conceal their wounds as far as possible. A Pathan was hit three times, not dangerously, but in such a way as to lose a good deal of blood, and he bandaged up his injuries and stuck to his place with his fellows--until his condition was discovered. His explanation was that "we must be as brave as the English," and apparently the whole Indian Expeditionary Force regards itself as on trial, qualifying for equal regard with the rest of the Allied Forces. The spirit animating them is not so much one of patriotism or of loyalty, as of the warrior's emulation, as far as the ordinary day's work is concerned. As for their spirit when the actual fighting comes, it is, as it has always been, sheer joy and self-forgetfulness. Indian and British are alike of Aryan stock, but there is something in the blood of the Eastern man which makes him take to fighting with a battle fury that the Westerner cannot compass.

As to the work of the Indians, apart from their spirit in the firing line, I can bear testimony to fine soldierly spirit, endurance and doggedness at which not even a Yorkshireman could cavil. All weathers are alike to them, and, except for the difficulty of providing them with food according to their several rites and habits, they settle to their work just as well and easily as European troops.

They plod along the sodden roads of France and over the muddy plains as they march in Indian dust and heat, stolidly, imperturbably. We have accorded praise without stint to our own men, but when the reckoning comes to be made it will be found that the Indians are no less deserving of praise.

France has realized the gravity of the issues from the outset, but even yet England has not realized. The contrast between the spirit of the two nations was exemplified, after a visit to France and the war area, by a newspaper poster displayed on the London Embankment. I had come off the boat train and was taxi-ing along the Embankment eastward, when my eye was caught by a poster beaming the name of a catchpenny journal, and displaying the

query, "Is Joffre Wrong?" in flaming red letters. Now, such a thing as this would be impossible in France of to-day; the people themselves would destroy such an insult to their commander who is also our commander; for the war is a business to which they have set their hands - a business in which they will go forward in such a spirit that it is impossible, humanly speaking, that they should be other than victors in the end. One may say with confidence now that they will be victors: three months ago one might have said that they would emerge victorious or that there would be no more France. For there is no Third Empire in this war to divide France against itself; the nation is one and indivisible, a great people working to one end and understanding the magnitude of its task.

This, which may be called the spirit of great days, (for the present is made up of the greatest days that have been since the fall of Napoleon), permeates all France, and the spirit has communicated itself to the British and Indian troops fighting in France and to the last of the helpers in this work of war. Comments on the other side of the Channel are few, for it is too great a thing for question or comment, and the end, whether far off or near, is certain. Quiet resolution characterizes all, and the hysteria which manifests itself on this side the Channel by discussions about the disgrace attendant on football matches, and like subjects, is an impossibility in France, just as is that currish poster to which reference has already been made - the thing that, like a feather marking the wind, pointed the immense difference between the temper of the French and British peoples. Here, the war is something far off, something which makes more or less difference to taxation, and calls for various charitable efforts on the part of the civilian community - something abstract, which *may* possibly materialize in the form of a Zeppelin raid - on somebody else's house and property. Save for certain discomforts, the war cannot touch us: so say the average of British householders.

Our army and navy, the troops from the Indian Empire and such men as the Colonies have sent are at war protecting us and helping France, according to the British view, and the war is a matter for conversation and the criticism of Government in office and leaders in the field. Never was greater delusion, for our army and navy and those who have come to aid them are fighting for the very life of Britain as well as in aid of France.

This France knows, and every woman who waits for her husband to return, every man whose relatives are in the firing line, says: "*We* are fighting." Not the army and navy, but the whole nation—it is a solidity and strength of purpose which Britain as a nation has yet to realize. That it should have gone so long unrealized is to our shame; that we should squabble and palter over football matches and like trifles in such days as these must rank as symptomatic of national inertness, and unless by some means the nation can be brought to realize the gravity of the issue it is no longer worthy of its high place among the peoples of Europe.

There is no man in the firing line, be he British or Indian or Colonial, but has realized how serious is the struggle, and in England are many to whom realization has come—they may be found in the training camps, or enrolled in volunteer forces when age and circumstances keep them out of military uniform. But taken as one whole, they form a minority, and the majority retains an impersonal, detached attitude. Yet of British troops there came into the Boulogne hospitals in one week no less than 25,000 wounded, and many of them maimed for life. More than twice that number of men have already given life itself for the cause of the Allies.

A sight of France and a realization of the spirit of France are necessary before one can understand the war and its significance to the full, but insular Britain has not yet begun to understand. Not only is it life or death for France, but it is life or life-in-death for all of Europe,

and for Britain as well. We may be thankful that this last alternative has nearly passed out from the range of possibilities, but how shall we, incapable as a nation of realizing our dangers, claim fitness to assume the responsibilities of a great Power? The newspaper correspondent who was content to regard men of the Carnatic as Gurkhas is typical of the apathy of the British nation, (apart from the British Army and Navy), with regard to the real importance and issues of the war.

Little is known in this country of the actual work which is being done by the Indian troops, and how much we owe to them in Belgium, France, the Persian Gulf, and elsewhere.

And, though the Indian fights in his own way, few accounts of his fighting in France and Flanders are published on this side of the Channel. This is a fault which we hope to see rectified in the near future, as these accounts are quite as romantic as any that can be told. The Indians will always fight honourably and chivalrously; but they will fight to win, and to maintain their reputations when placed side by side with European troops. This they will do in their own way, which is different from our way. One or two stories of the doings of the Turcos have already found their way into print, stories concerned with the early days of the war; but since the Indians arrived in the firing line no stories of the fighting in which they have taken part, with the exception of edited and official accounts, have been published. We must reiterate our protest in this respect and look forward to an early improvement. The Indians do not envy the London Scottish their notoriety, nor do they court the praise of uncomprehending civilians: that of their officers and of the men beside whom they fight is sufficient for them.

Since no man who is not actually engaged in the fighting, newspaper correspondent or otherwise, gets within twenty miles of the firing line, none can say that they have seen how the Indian troops comport themselves in the presence of the

We must take our view of the Indians in the firing line from the accounts—not always to be relied on—of the troops who fought near them, and from such accounts as have come through from friend and enemy sources. All agree in that the Indians have fully maintained their reputations, and none are more emphatic on this point than the German accounts, which, if any bias should be attributed to them, would most certainly minimize the work done by what they regard as alien enemies. They show no disposition to minimize the work of the Indians, but pay heartfelt tribute to the ferocity and unquenchable spirit of their terrible antagonists—in the intervals of grave-digging to which Indian attacks have given rise.

One result of this war will be that Europe will no longer have the claim to be the centre of the globe, a claim which has rested chiefly on its superiority in science and mechanical devices. But when the time for writing the history of this war comes, it will be realized that it was with the aid of the loyalty of the Asiatic nations and the efforts of the

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final triumph was achieved, and we will then ungrudgingly pay tribute to the philosophy, civilization, and culture of the East, which has to a large extent saved the West from a military domination. And so in the future Asia will take an increasing part in the conduct of affairs. The West has much to learn from the East, and the remnants of civilization which will be saved in the West will find a regenerating power, wholly unexpected now with the bulk of the population here, which will enable us to once more build up a structure of international intercourse and mutual good-will, which alone makes the progress of Europe possible.

THE FALL OF SEI-TŌ (TSING-TAO) AND ITS AFTERMATH

BY SHINJI ISHII

SEI-TŌ has fallen under the gallant leadership of Lieutenant-General Mitsuomi Kamio. Contrary to our expectation, this capitulation took place sooner than we anticipated. It is remarkable that the losses of our army on this occasion were less than those in the useless campaign conducted against the aborigines of Formosa in the beginning of this year.

I left Japan for this country in the beginning of August, when the present European turmoil had just begun to reveal itself. The participation of England, our ally, in the war had caused great excitement throughout Japan. Naturally, the current opinion throughout the Empire at that time was an immediate realization of our sacred duty to our allies: the wiping out of the Germans from the East, and protection of mutual interest in these waters. As an instance of the great enthusiasm that governed every class of our people I may mention the following case. I met on several occasions, in the Tokyo electric tram-cars, labourers in rough clothing earnestly discussing the situation, and nearly every one of them was unanimous in insisting on help for England and the crushing of audacious Germans; especially when the latter's dirty trick—a German firm was a principal factor of such an international scandal—the naval scandal, the most infamous case since the birth of

New Japan---was fresh in the memory of every people. In the meantime a rumour was current that a certain neutral Power had lodged a strong protest with our Government, to be followed by the probable demonstration of a big fleet, and that our attack on Sei-Tō might lead to a disturbance of the equilibrium of the Powers concerned in China. It was not until our steamer reached Singapore, in the latter part of the same month, that we were informed for the first time of the declaration of war by Japan against Germany. Thence, after six weeks of eventful voyage, including a narrow escape from the *Emden* in the Indian Ocean, I was able to land in this country in the middle of October. On my arrival here there was a batch of Japanese papers awaiting me; among them I found a prize offered by one of the papers to any person mentioning the probable date of the fall of Sei-Tō, and a general consensus of opinion was in favour of either the end of November or the beginning of December.

It is an irony of fate that our army, organized and trained in its first stages under German tutelage, should have succeeded in dealing a master-stroke against its former instructors, giving occasion to a German paper to speak of "ungrateful Japan." Besides the army system, we have imported from Germany several modern sciences, among them the medicines being the most progressive. A certain Tokyo professor has lamented the cessation of new knowledge from Germany since the war was declared; while two of the Kyoto professors have decided to give their lectures in future in our own language, in lieu of German. Another important item from Germany was their legal system, followed necessarily in its train by the German idea of bureaucracy, which many of our enlightened statesmen regard as a great scourge on the development of the popular government in present-day Japan. The German army system has also brought forward the idea of militarism, reflecting the conception of despotism in no small degree.

Fortunately, at the present critical moment, our Cabinet is under that most progressive veteran Premier, Count Ōkuma, and for its Foreign Minister, Baron Katō, who was twice the Japanese Ambassador to Britain, and whose profound knowledge of English politics is considered a valuable asset to the present Government. It is gratifying to know that our state craft, with such an experienced helmsman at the wheel, was able to steer its course into the proper channel, in accordance with the time-honoured creed of our political idea, *Taigi-Meibun*; literally, "the proper discernment of relations of great obligations." Besides, the policy of the present Government has, no doubt, received the unprecedented support of the general mass of the people—a support even stronger than at the time of the Russian War. This revelation of popular feeling shows the strength and the prevalence of the common spirit which dwells in the bosom of every sensible Japanese—i.e., *Gikyōshun*, "the spirit of chivalry and self-sacrifice." Its forerunner was represented in the type of men, commonly known as *Otokodate*, or "chivalrous persons," who made an appearance against that tyrannical militarism prevailing in the middle part of the last period of feudalism, under the Tokugawa shoguns, and whose motto was always "to treat the weak with deference, and crush the strong." I shall have occasion to deal with the subject of the evolution of this spirit in a future number of this Review. In this connection I should like to express my personal opinion as to the much misused term of *Bushidō*. I quite agree with Professor Chamberlain as to the modern construction of the term; it became more attractive to European eyes since a small volume on the subject was brought out by an official scribe, or sarcastically called in Japan "a Government-patronized scholar," soon after our war with China, some two decades ago. In fact, the idea so expounded in *Bushidō* is no other than the principle of militarism, giving self-conceited pre-eminence to a chosen few—the military class—and compelling the most humiliating subjugation of the common people; in fact, it is

a teaching of brutal despotism. A fuller discussion of this subject than I can enter into here will be found in that recent excellent work on Japan by Professor Longford.*

Now the thousands of Germans who have had such an uneasy time in Sei-Tō for the last few months are enjoying comfortable rest and hospitality in Japan, in a marked contrast to the most barbarous treatment which hundreds of our innocent students have received from the Government and people in Berlin and elsewhere.

No one knows when the present war will terminate, but when an end comes the Far East will become once more an arena of international strife for commercial supremacy, as our occupation of the densely populated province of Shun-Tung might prove to be a bone of contention to the Powers concerned. But, as far as our interest in China is concerned, we shall not be so tenacious as to insist on the permanent occupation of the once German leased territory, which, moreover, might create endless friction. But a still greater problem has to be solved in the destiny of our nation—namely, that of our surplus population, for it is increasing at the rate of some half a million a year. As to the exodus of this surplus population, two different views are held by two parties: those who advocated the northern expansion were mostly represented by the military party, and those for the southward movement by the liberal party, which is a warm supporter of the naval expansion. Each party has a certain plausible reason for its own view; but, from my long experience in Formosa, the southernmost island colony of Japan, it shows that our people is better adapted to the warm climate, and, consequently, is destined to make a rapid development, especially in agriculture—an occupation innate to the nation since prehistoric time. Again, if we compare with the slow and somewhat retarded state of affairs in our settlement in the northern island of Hokkaidō (Ezo) with the position in

* Professor Longford, "The Evolution of New Japan" (Cambridge Manual), 1913, pp. 10-13.

Formosa, we find that the latter had such a degree of financial success as to reach the stage of becoming a self-supporting colony within the brief period of ten years since its date of occupation. Besides, the quota of our blood is, no doubt, reduced by the Polynesian and Indonesian stocks, and this fact also assists the recurrent adaptability of our people to the warm climate. Unfortunately, the influx of our immigration was, and is, subjected to the most unjust treatment in the countries bordering the Northern and Southern Pacific, based simply on such a very unjustifiable reason as colour classification—a harmful and, at the same time, unscientific classification of human races originated by Blumenbach in the later part of the eighteenth century. Since the tendency of the modern study of human beings is to eliminate such classification, taking its start from the fact that human nature at the bottom is the same, irrespective of colour, creed, or form of government, the resort to such a classification by highly-civilized Governments must be itself an object of great derision. The practicability of this conception is shown at the present moment when the Muhammadans are fighting side by side with the Christians for the common cause of humanity. It is my idea that, if the classification of existing human beings is desired at all, it should be made in accordance with the intellectual scale of receptibility of the common idea, which aims at the peace and welfare of all nations.

Japan has now fulfilled a portion of her duty, and she will be further prepared to assist her Allies in case of emergency by sending a picked quarter out of her two million men to the European theatre of war. For this contribution her desire will be, not a territorial aggrandizement, but an open door and equal opportunity for her people in the territories under the sphere of influence of the Allies.

QUATRAINS OF "OMAR KHAYYĀM"

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.L.E.

These verses are line for line, and almost word for word, translations of the original Persian. The Translator has added nothing of his own, and has not presumed to meddle with the thoughts or imagery of the Persian Poet—J. P.

1.

Although I've ne'er strung pearl for Thee,
Nor from Sin's dust my brow wiped free,
I still have hope of Mercy, due
Because what's "One" I've ne'er named "Two."

2.

Better in Inn my sins reveal—
Than without Thee in Mosque to kneel ;
Thou, First and Last of things that be,
Burn, an 'Thou wilt, or cherish me !

3.

Cease taunting drunkards, if you can,
Leave trickery and play the man !
If hence from Life you'd find repose,
Treat not the humble as your foes.

4.

If possible cause no man pain.
From flame that burns your wrath restrain.
If you desire perpetual peace—
Fret, but from fretting others cease !

Since none will gage To-morrow's morn,
Make happy now your heart love-lorn.
Drink wine, Moonfaced, for many a Moon
Shall seek us long, nor find us soon.

6.

Korán, which men name "Word sublime,"
They only read from time to time ;
On goblet's brim a text is writ,
And men are always reading it.

We here—Wine—Bench—and drunken frame—
Care for no Hope, and fear no flame.
Heart, soul, cup, clothes wine-stained, you see,
From Earth, Air, Water, Fire, are free.

8.

'Tis best few friends to make below—
Some here 'tis well afar to know ;
That man on whom thou leanest so—
Examined close is found a foe.

9.

This Jug a Lover was—like me—
And sought a fair face lovingly ;
This handle, round its neck now hung,
Was, erst, an arm round friend's neck flung.

10.

Alas for heart that's felt no wound—
Nor by Love's spell was ever bound ;
The day that without Love is spent
No emptier could to you be lent.

11.

To-day's the crisis of my youth,
 Wine I desire that brings no ruth ;
 Though sour—'tis sweet—then blame me not.
 The sourness represents my lot.

12.

To-day we can't "to-morrow" sway—
 Folly to fret 'bout it to-day ;
 If not love-mad, lose not this day—
 What worth the next is who can say ?

13.

Now that the glad New Year draws nigh
 Each heart to desert yearns to fly ;
 On bough, see, Moses' hand appears,
 Each breeze the breath of Jesus bears.

14.

Who fails to reach Truth's fruitful rod
 Hath not the path of duty trod ;
 Who the weak bough of Knowledge bends
 But learns each day the same way ends.

15.

When dawned Creation's day, my Soul
 Sought Heaven and Hell—sought Pen and Scroll ;
 Then did the Teacher to me tell—
 "Thyself art Pen, Scroll, Heaven, and Hell."

16.

Arise ! bring Wine—no need for words—
 Thy mouth all that I want affords ;
 Wine—like thy cheeks rose-coloured, give !
 Repentance doth curl-tangled live.

17.

The Rose the New-Year-zephyrs greet—
My darling's face in bower is sweet ;
The day that's gone no talk makes glad,
To-day is sweet, then why be sad ?

18.

Why should I skim the sea with shells ?
Disgust for Kafirs in me dwells !
Khayyām ! who says to Hell he'll go ?
Who came from Heaven, or went below.

19.

The elements that hold the Wine
No drinker will to ruin consign ;
These heads, these hands, these feet, why make
For love of whom ? for hate why break ?

Like river's flood—like desert's blast—
Another day of life has past ;
I've never grieved two days anent—
—" The day to come " - " the day that's spent."

• 21.

I came not on Creation's day—
And in my going have no say ;
Cup-bearer, gird thy loins, bring wine—
Thus drown I this world-grief of mine.

Khayyām, who Wisdom's tent-work wrought,
Was burnt, in sorrow's furnace caught ;
Fate cut his Being's tent-ropes strong.
Hope's Broker sold him for a song.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA'S RALLY ROUND THE FLAG

BY A. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

THE rally of India round the flag has been so splendid, so spontaneous and so unanimous, that it is well both for India and England to realize the full meaning of this epoch-making achievement.

It has not come as a surprise to anyone who knew the depths of the heart of India. But it has come as a pleasant surprise to many people to whom the vision of India was a nightmare compounded of unrest, anarchy, bombs, mosquitoes and tigers.

Gone is that nightmare—gone to the limbo of all things that are unreal, but that borrow enough of reality to give form and substance to a nightmare—and a prejudice.

But the rally has caused grace abounding to flow also to those who doubted—who shook their heads and with real benignity of heart wondered whether India could really ever be received as a junior partner in the firm of John Bull and Co.

War is like alchemy. It has its baser side, as Louvain and Rheims and thousands of shattered homes in Belgium and France attest. It is responsible for the agonies of countless men, women, and children who built their hopes of love and bliss in vain, and to each of whom will be hushed for ever the one voice that attuned this earth to the harmony of the spheres—who will search in vain, through the gloom of blighted affections, for the one face that meant happiness and the one form round which centred the dearest

affections of life. But, like alchemy, war can also transmute the baser metals into pure gold. Its clarion trumpet can drown the din of petty wrangling. Its terrific thunderstorms can clear the air of mistrust and doubt, and show the heights of purpose and endeavour as they rise above the clouds of prejudice and self-interest. Its touch can clear the cobwebs of cant and lay bare the eternal basic virtues of human nature when it seeks comradeship and fidelity, and finds it in abundant measure, full and overflowing, with not a thought of "nicely calculated less or more."

India's rally—and indeed the rally of the whole Empire—is of that nature. Australia and Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, and many a minor Britain lapped on the rocking waves— all tell the same tale. The treachery of Maritz only shows up in relief the loyalty of the Afrikaner, as the haste and passion of the Komagata Maru Sikhs in Calcutta give point to the loyal outpourings of the Khalsa in meeting assembled in the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Count not the value of their golden hearts merely by what they send, either in men or money. Measure it not only by their glowing words, or even by their deeds of passionate patriotism. Pierce the veil; see the heart within—a surging, tumultuous current of vigorous red blood flows through their throbbing arteries, and Britannia is indeed proud to be the mother of a brood so quickly afire in a glorious cause, so firm in their resolve to give to their mother of their fairest, noblest and strongest.

Is Britain India's mother? No, say the materialists. But the answer is "Yes" to those who have seen New India born and growing. An India has existed through centuries. It was small, it was beautiful, before Babe Britannia was in her swaddling clothes. It grew and added the charms of maturity to the freshness and vigour of youth. Its clay was privileged to be the repository of unimagined dreams. Its throat-strings made music and song of the sweetest and best. Its eyes enchanted with the warm blue

glow of its sun-kissed rivers and the pure white radiance of its eternal snows. But it also suffered seemingly from age, but in reality from the constant jar of strident voices within the gates. Then comes Britannia of the far western isles—lovely to look upon, with the lute of concord in her hands, the strength of purpose in her sinews, and proudly wearing the flower of freedom in her locks of gold. And she speaks—through her Shakespeare and Milton, through her philosophy and prose, through her praise of glorious deeds and her sweet sanctification of home and woman and beatific childhood—so divinely, with such sincerity and grace and truth! Old India becomes young, sullen silent India becomes fresh, and wears blossoms culled from the living garden of a Rabindranath Tagore. Orphaned India knocks at the door and treads softly—softly and timorously, but with a “Bindri” * tray of gifts—such gifts as she can bring. The enemy shouts harshly without. He points the finger of scorn at this “alien.” Rosy-cheeked children—Britannia’s real children of a few summers—half know what she brings, but know not its value or the spirit of the giver. They take their cue from Mother Britannia, whose embrace is the bond of kinship. In thought and ideals, in method and organization, modern India is Britain’s youngest daughter across the seas.

What does the rally mean for India? I have referred already to the words of a prophet of England written a century ago—to Wordsworth’s high rejection of a “lore of nicely calculated less or more.” Leave to politics and law the theory of compensations and considerations. They are no doubt important in everyday life. But bring not the high emotions of a great crisis to a lower plane by talking about these when the heart beats to a nobler purpose, and echoes by its throbs the sentiments of a united Empire. Let a simple Indian soldier speak for himself: “The Empire in self-defence has appealed to all its subjects. If it

* “Bindri” was the famous metal artware of Southern India. Costliest gifts were presented to kings in the choicest of “bindri” trays.

had been threatened in India, British soldiers would have gone there; but as it is threatened in Europe, we have come here." And then he added, converting into a glorious sentiment new to India an obvious formula embodied in his instructions in a wholly matter of fact sense: "We are indeed Indians, but also Britishers."

What does the rally mean for England? Let there be no unctuous phrases of self-congratulation or self-satisfaction. Justice never produced popular waves of emotion. Efficiency never stirred men's blood or gave a generous glow to sentiment and pride. These things are well in the balancing of accounts, in the reckoning of the debtor and creditor sides of a ledger. But now is the time for a warm-hearted shake of the hand. This is the hour when men speak little, but what little they say smacks of high emprise. Shall we be comrades in arms, and generously recognize each other's good qualities?

That is the key in which Lord Crewe spoke. As Secretary of State for India, he knows what he is saying in the generous tribute which he pays to Indian troops: "High-souled men of first-rate training and representing an ancient civilization." No less generous is Lord Curzon, who expresses for this country the feelings of pride in India's solidarity and India's passionate response. But most heart-stirring of all is the appeal of one who knows intimately every part of his Empire as no Sovereign before him knew it—one whose *chahra-i-mubārak* * was seen with pride and glory by millions of men in Bombay, Delhi, and Calcutta, less than three short years ago. "The noble traditions of courage and chivalry of my Indian Army, whose honour and fame are in your hands"—what Indian soldier would not be fired by such eulogy? What Indian civilian would not feel a thrill of emotion at such stimulating words? Again: "I look to all my Indian soldiers to uphold the *izzat* † of the British *Raj* against an aggressive and relentless enemy." The King-Emperor calls. India

* Auspicious face.

† Honour.

salutes and falls in, ready to die for country, Padishah, flag and Empire.

The apostles of mailed fists and rattling sabres, the preachers of the gospel of blood and fire, make light of the human factor in history, or in the human factor subordinate the spiritual to the material. But it is this higher side of the human factor which will govern every struggle, and be the final arbiter among men and nations. It is this factor that is forging a link between India and England stronger than chains of administrative steel—more reliable than armed battalions. And what made it such a living dominant force? The personality of India's gracious Sovereign, who resolved, with his noble Consort, to enthrone himself in the heart of India in waking a new life and force from the echoes of historic Delhi.

The Sovereign speaking to his people, the Sovereign in the midst of his people, the Sovereign smiling and trusting when Prudence spoke of danger and wiseheads appealed to precedents, the Sovereign who gave dignity to splendour by the magnificent simplicity of his own daily life, and rescued Court functions from their terrors by kindly words, gracious smiles, and quiet acts of practical charity—this was the influence which captivated India, and is in itself sufficient to awaken the imagination of its nobility and its people. The war has provided a practical outlet. Let us take the feeling at its flood, and count it among the richest gains of the Imperial ferment.

At this stage let us not speak of India's prowess in the field. The deeds of India's soldiers will speak for themselves. They have already won praise by their splendid equipment, their fine physique, their manly bearing and their eagerness to join issue with the enemy. They have been baptized in the fire of German guns. Their cavalry have shown their steadiness in support of the magnificent staunchness of the Allied Forces, French, English and Belgian. Their mountain scouts, the "jolly little Gurkhas," have given a foretaste of the daring with which the lonely

watches of the night can be invaded and the enemy's stores of ammunition can be destroyed. When the time comes for dash and chase, they will not be laggards in the field.

These are the picturesque outward embodiments of India's aid, and they at once catch the eye. But no less valuable is India's earnestness in helping with the sinews of war. Every detail in equipment, even to the picks and shovels of the sappers and miners, will be supplied by India. The field hospitals and ambulance will be provided by India. The doctors and nursing orderlies for first aid for Red Cross work for India's force will be mainly supplied and entirely financed by India, with the help of such voluntary contributions as will be available (and I hope they will be generous) in this country. It is difficult to figure out the exact cost involved in all these measures, but the Viceroy's Legislative Council, on the motion of a non-official elected member, has practically signed a blank cheque for the purpose. The value of this blank cheque is enhanced by two considerations. India has just passed through a local famine of some intensity, and will herself suffer many forms of financial distress on account of the war, apart altogether from the exploits of the *Emden* or other cruisers that may temporarily escape the net of our gallant navy. Further, not only was India not bound to supply the expenses of these troops : she was precluded by Act of Parliament from spending money on them while they were outside her territory. India requested the British Parliament to suspend this prohibition, and India's request was complied with after Mr. Asquith had paid a most generous tribute to India's desire to share in the financial as well as other burdens of the war. These measures were devised and put into operation by men other than those in khaki. The whole of India stands up as one man, in support of the flag that is rooted in honour, and will wave for victory.

Fight, ye glorious soldiers, Gurkha or Sikh, Moslem, Rajput or Brahman ! Fight for the name of India, and

make it glorious with your blood ! Great are your privileges. You have comrades in the British Army whose fellowship and lead are a priceless possession to you. They have fought and conquered in these very fields for centuries. They are as staunch and steady against the crushing weight of numbers as they are bold and enterprising in the hour of dash and gallantry. They have something of your own mystic sentiment and spirituality, however different may be their manner of showing it. Their chivalry in the most trying turns of fortune will open your eyes to those knightly qualities which your ancestors enshrined in their legends. In the long battle line of which you will form part will be the renowned soldiers of France and the heroic army of Belgium, who know not despair and are never more courageous than when facing overwhelming odds. You have a very high example to emulate, and we know you will be worthy of it.

Think of their devastated fields, their ruined industries, their desecrated homes, their slaughtered children and kinsmen. Such dangers may have seemed remote from your homes, but what keeps your homes together ? The flag which protects you is threatened. The foe is relentless, and the object of his hate and envy is nothing less than the splendid fabric of the Empire in which you live. Your children, your homes, your kindred and your land are threatened as surely as the heart of the Empire. Strike, and show what your prowess is worth ! Shoot straight, grasp your lance and ride at the foe ! Charge with your bayonets and sound the trumpet of victory ! Your King-Emperor has told you that he has drawn the sword for a righteous purpose, and that he will not sheath it until that purpose has been achieved. Be yours a share in the achievement !

And those you have left behind ? You are fighting for them. Leave them to the tender care of a grateful country whose standard you are bearing aloft. An appreciative Empire will know your worth, and honour and cherish

the loved ones whom you will ennoble with the undying fame of your deeds through centuries of history!

Remember the spirit of the great hero whom you have just buried. Bobs Bahadur is still speaking to you. He died as he had lived—simply, and with the soldiers, British, Colonial, and Indian, whom he loved so well. And yet there was a special bond that united him to India. He was born in Cawnpore, and laboured forty-one years in India. When he marched as a Sepoy General through the Bolan Pass, difficulties melted before him like the snow on the Shutar Gardan in the summer. When he led his famous march to Kandahar he disappeared as one who leads a great adventure, but reappeared to the view of the world as a great General crowned with victory. In South Africa he gave his only son's life, and won laurels for his aged brow, which rank him as a good and humane man as well as a great soldier. And now he went to see his old soldiers, and died happy because he had seen them. What legacy can be greater than such an imperishable name—unsullied in the battlefield and ever associated with the call of duty? Will not India fight all the more nobly and proudly for such an example?

Such, O England! is the response of India to thy call. She wishes to stand shoulder to shoulder with thee, and solemnly, devotedly, affectionately to salute the Flag.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, November 23, 1914, at 4 p.m., when a paper was read by A. Yusuf Ali, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), LL.M. CANTAB., Barrister-at-Law, on "India's Rally round the Flag." General Sir O'Moore Creagh, v.c., G.C.B., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley C. Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir James Walker, C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Lady Lawrence, Lady Candy, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. T. Stoker, C.S.I., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Mrs. Marsh, Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, C.I.E., Mr. and Mrs. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Phillipowsky, Mrs. Pollen, Mr. J. M. Pollen, Miss Dorothy Pollen, Miss Rose, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss Hetherington, Mr. H. R. Cummings, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mrs. Burke, Mr. E. Haji, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. M. A. Hamid, Mr. Harold Cox, Mr. J. Stead, Mrs. Drury, Mrs. and Miss Corfield, Mrs. and Miss Scott, Mr. J. S. Haji, Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon, Mrs. Grose, Miss Latter, Mr. John Lee Warner and Miss Lee Warner, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mr. Naimatullah Shah, Mr. Abdul Majid Hassanally, Miss Young, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Miss Massey, Mr. W. Battye, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. C. C. McLeod, Mrs. E. Rosher, Mr. Sampuran Singh, Mr. and Mrs. R. Thornton, Mr. M. W. Hassanally, Mr. S. S. Sawhney, Mr. W. Eckstein, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Villiers Stewart, Mrs. H. Woods, Mr. Angus Wilson, Mr. G. H. Ward Humphreys, Mr. G. F. Sheppard, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. C. J. Weir, Miss Beck, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. Bean, Colonel Lewtas, Mr. H. Woodward, Major Skene Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mr. Ismail Khan, Mr. E. G. W. Pearse, Mrs. Lowe, Mrs. Bell, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. G. Mansukhain, Mr. T. Singh, Mr. S. Cama, Mr. Theodore Hance, Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. and Miss Barnes, Mr. J. and Miss Everatt, Miss N. Baker, Mrs. Leonard, Miss Durrant, Mrs. Fraser, Mr. F. C. Moore, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mrs. Harrington-Stuart, Mrs. Pollock, Miss W. Lovett, Major R. M. Daniel, Mr. M. C.

Graham Sharp, Mr. A. Guha, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Orme, Mrs. Orr, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to introduce to you this evening Mr. Yusuf Ali. He had a very distinguished career at Cambridge, and also a very distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service, which he has lately resigned. He will give you a paper to-night on "India's Rally round the Flag."

MR. YUSUF ALI: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, when I was asked to read a paper before the East India Association, my first idea was to write a simple, business-like paper; but when I took up the pen, and the subject warmed me, I found that the occasion was so great that I had to write a paper that more or less rose to the occasion. The result is that I have to apologize to you for the style in which the paper is written. It is somewhat emotional, and looks upon the emotional and the sentimental side of the question more than upon the business side. We are fortunate, sir, in having you as our chairman--you whom the Indian Army reveres, for which you have done so much; you have even after your retirement continued to take the same lively interest in the welfare of the Indian soldier, and if there is one great result that will be achieved by this war, it will be not only that the bonds of our great Empire will be drawn tighter together, but the various questions affecting the welfare of the Indian soldier will also come up for consideration.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all agreed that Mr. Yusuf Ali has fully and most eloquently explained the subject which he took up to-night--"India's Rally round the Flag." You will recollect that in one part of his lecture he says that it has come to many people as a surprise. His exact words are: "It has not come as a surprise to anyone who knew the depths of the heart of India. But it has come as a pleasant surprise to many people to whom the vision of India was a nightmare compounded of unrest, anarchy, bombs, mosquitoes and tigers." Well, ladies and gentlemen, as I belong to the first lot I should just like to say a word to you as to why I do. Men of my trade are not as a rule guided by sentiment, except to use it in such a way as to make it work in the interests of our men. That is not, however, the point to-night. In considering a vast political question like the loyalty of India, when I say that I have been a convinced believer in it always, I wish to point out to you that I have not been so as a matter of sentiment. I have been so because I considered I was warranted in this belief by hard facts, and the reason for this I will tell you if you will give me your patience. I do not pretend to know all India, although I have passed forty-five years in that country; and I would warn those who may not know to beware of the person, be he Britisher or Indian, who says he knows all India, because he does not.

In the first place, I hope you will not consider me dreary, but I must carry you back a long way. I must carry you back to the old Indian days when caste was first invented. You will recollect that in the first institution of caste by Manu there were four castes described--the priest; the

warrior, who defended his people, and, by the way, did a good deal of fighting among themselves to keep his hand in; the trader and the menial. These castes naturally had few amenities one with the other, and their social intercourse was almost nil, except such as may be described by the warrior oppressing the agriculturist and the menial with *ante-mortem* terrors, and the priest oppressing all with *post-mortem* ones. This state of affairs was naturally not conducive to the welfare of the country. It bred internecine strife, until the appearance of Buddha, who did away with all caste except, I believe, in a small portion of the south of India, where he was unable to overcome it. Indian history, anyway, is not very clear to me about how these events came off, but came off there is no doubt they did, because we had in northern India the great and united casteless empire of Chandragupta, which again was overthrown by the Hindu system of caste championed by the priestly or Brahmin caste. On the re-introduction of caste, when the Empire was weak, various conquerors from Muhammadan countries—from Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia—took advantage of this weakness to invade the country. They brought in with them what have become further caste divisions in the shape of the numerous Mussulman sects, which, I believe, are more numerous than the Christian. Mr. Yusuf Ali will correct me if I am wrong.

Thus we had on top of the Indian caste system religious enmities which increased the state of strife going on in the country, till some manner of peace was established by the Mogul Empire which attained its zenith, as you all know, in the time of the great Akbar. This Empire lasted only for a certain period, because his successors were many of them bigots and drunkards, and were not able to hold it together. Then, as you all know, it was upset again by the Mahrattas, whose army was commanded by European adventurers, such as De Boigne and Perron. At this time the state of strife in India was something beyond what anyone can imagine. Out of this chaos the British emerged triumphant, and endeavoured to administer even-handed justice between man and man regardless of caste. But with the British rule—and this is too often forgotten—another division arose in India; so that it was not all calm that they brought. There was what may be called the country party and the town party. The country party, as you know, most of you who have been in India, is the same now as it was probably hundreds of years ago. The town party, on the contrary, is guided by thought currents from the West, and the two parties do not at all coalesce. I have mainly had to do with the country party, as the party from which the army comes. The town party I know, but you do so as well as I do, so there is no good my saying any more about them. They are to be heard of in all newspapers and all journals, and usually call their opinion "Indian public opinion." In these publications you find nothing about my friend the silent Indian of the village. Nor is he represented in Councils or Constitutions for which he cares nothing. If you think of these villages multiplied by thousands and millions, there you get the backbone of India. They have their opinion, too, but it is at present inarticulate. It is this India that has ever counted in times of stress and danger, and ever will. (Hear, hear.) They are people who by nature are

conservative. I may add that they are like what they were in my country in its better days : they worship the natural leaders of their people and honour them, that is, their nobles and gentry ; and I maintain that if those nobles and gentry are loyal (as I know they are from personal experience, and have known it for many years, and only in the way that a Shikari and a person fond of the countryside could know it), and see the reverence these villagers pay to their natural leaders in India, it will be self-evident to anyone that the country will be loyal. It is only now by the British rule that the country is attaining a semblance of unity, and were the strong hand removed to-day, the horrible state that India was in in days gone by would return again. It is these yeomen and villagers, and small nobles, who know this ; they love their land and their village, and there is nothing they would deplore so greatly as to see strife recur in it again. They have long memories ; they recollect what I wish more of us did, their family traditions, and they recollect their old religions ; and it is only by knowing those and their languages that we can know them. (Hear, hear.)

I think Mr. Yusuf Ali has explained, in much more eloquent language than I have at my command, the rally round the flag ; but I claim for myself that I have given you one of its main reasons—that is, the loyalty of the peasant, the small yeoman, and the country gentleman, not excluding, of course, the great chiefs ; for that goes without saying. Another thing that I think makes greatly for the loyalty of the country is the friendly relations of British officers with these country gentlemen and villagers. No one knows their sentiments, nor can have a fellow feeling with them who has not sat at sunset by the village well and talked to these most interesting people, or who has not had friendships with them and their superiors. If you will cast your eye back on history, and to our own relations with India you will, I am sure, recollect the great part personal friendships have played in the East. You will recollect (and I will only bring one notable instance to your minds) how the officers who went to govern the Punjab on its annexation only twelve years before, owing to their friendships with the Sikh Sirdars, brought the whole Sikh nation to aid the Government in the suppression of the great Mutiny. It is such acts that are performed in India by friends, and will be again should occasion arise. But by friendship I mean real friendship. As an Indian friend of mine said the other day : “ We do not want words of sympathy ; it is not that that we call friendship. Friendship between a European and an Indian entails sacrifices on both sides ” ; no doubt it does. But when the sacrifices are made, the friendships made are certainly (speaking from my own personal experience) most valuable to oneself, and also to the Government. (Hear, hear.)

What I have told you to-night of the even-handed justice which the British Government endeavours to deal from man to man is well recognized by those countless millions of villagers. If they have a District Officer who protects them from the thousands of people wearing Government badges, whom you all know in India, they look upon him as a great man, and the shadow of the King. District Officers must have the power to do this. If he does not do this, they think the King no longer cares for the poor, and

then they become discontented—and discontented villagers may become dangerous.

It is thinking these things over in my mind for many, many years that has always made me belong to that class which Mr. Yusuf Ali describes to-night, to whom the rally to the Flag has not come as a surprise. I am one of those who knew the depths of the great and loyal heart of India—(Cheers)—and knew where to look for it.

I would like to say just one word before I sit down to those Indian people who are here, and that is that I think it would be a great benefit to the Indian soldier, whom we all love, if he was not always called a Sikh or a Gurkha, which are only two of the castes from whom he comes. I would remind you of the other classes: the Pathan, who is second to none; or the Jat or Mahratti, who are equally doing their part; and the Baluchi, and the Dogra, and hundreds of other castes who should not be forgotten. To talk of only two is wrong; all the fighting castes have rallied to the flag. I think if we could spread this elementary knowledge of the Indian Army, which everybody in England praises, it would be very much appreciated by that Army itself. (Cheers.) That Army which to-day is representing India, and representing it well and truly, on stricken fields in Europe and Asia.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL, who followed, said he did not want to make a speech, but he would read a couple of extracts, one from a book, and the other from a friend of his which he had received a week ago from India. The first was from General von Bernhardt's book, "Germany and the Next War." "There is another danger which concerns England more closely, and directly threatens her vitality. This is due to the Nationalist movement in India and Egypt, to the growing power of Islam, to the agitation for independence in the great Colonies, as well as to the supremacy of the low German element in South Africa. In India some 70,000,000 of Mussulmans live under English rule; but now that a pronounced revolutionary and nationalist tendency shows itself amongst the Hindu population, the danger is imminent that pan-Islamism will unite with the revolutionary elements of Bengal. The co-operation of these elements might create a very grave danger capable of shaking the foundation of England's high position in the world." The paper of Mr. Yusuf Ali (the speaker continued), a member of the Indian Civil Service, showed how entirely Von Bernhardt, like the German statesmen generally, had misunderstood the relations between England and India.

Sir Arundel then read the following extract from a letter from a friend of his, an elderly Muhammadan gentleman of high position in a great native State: "Germany, who is responsible for this cruel war, deserves to be wiped out of the map of Europe. Her cruelties, her barbarisms, have shown to the world how small and superficial her boasted culture and civilization was. I do not wonder at the popularity of the war in England, nor do I wonder at everyone showing intense eagerness to go to the front."

MR. THORBURN said that he supposed there was hardly a person in the hall who had not a son or other relation at the front, or had not lost a friend in this awful war. He went on to give details of the cost of the war and its terrible effects. When Germany's mad War Lord attacked humanity,

we with others were shocked, but only for a moment, for presently the English-speaking world and east of Suez, India, and game-cock Japan with one voice affirmed their resolution to stand by us, France and Russia, and spend their last man and last dollar if necessary in destroying the enemy of mankind. Though unprepared for war, they accepted the challenge of Europe's bully and his drilled millions. Thus good came out of evil; light out of darkness. The bully had staked Crown, Empire and his people's welfare upon what he called his right to achieve by violence his "place in the sun." But his calculations were entirely wrong; he assumed that Great Britain would shirk the fight because of her own domestic troubles: civil war in Ireland, risings in India and in Egypt, troubles with the Dutch in South Africa and so forth; so he ordered his Generals to "back through" to Paris. Imagine his feelings when he discovered that England's "contemptible little army" barred the way, and that India, Ireland, South Africa and the other countries where his agents had been stirring up enmity against us were all fighting on our side. Instead of breaking our Empire he had consolidated it. The speaker thought that Mr. Yusuf Ali had picturesquely and poetically described the rally round the Flag, and reminded them that though England had only placed originally about 120,000 troops in France, "first aid" had come from India with 70,000 troops, two-thirds of whom were Indians. The speaker went on to say that in his old Province, the Punjab, he was certain that at a hint they could easily raise, drill, and despatch several army corps within six months. . . . The aftermath of the war would be bitter for Germany—honour, territory, money all lost. In time, under some form of democratic constitution, she would doubtless recover much of her commercial prosperity, but it would be many years before she would recover the trust and goodwill of the nations whom her present conduct had outraged.

• MR. SYUD HOSSAIN, the next speaker, said they had all been treated that afternoon to an extremely able and interesting paper by Mr. Yusuf Ali. The lecturer had treated the subject from a sentimental, and even emotional, point of view, which made it rather difficult for one who came after him and was unable to aspire to the same plane to deal with the points he had raised. But he (Mr. Hossain) would like the audience to realize that what was perhaps most significant and important in this crisis was the intellectual loyalty of India to the British connection. It seemed to him that it had become too much the fashion to talk of the sentimental devotion of the Indian masses, not so much on its intrinsic merits as by way of depreciating the intellectual loyalty of the educated community of India. The Chairman had referred to the long memory of the Indian villager, and it would be difficult to imagine that the blessings of peace which British rule had brought to India should not be appreciated by him. But it must not be forgotten that the loyalty of the masses of India was at the best a passive, almost a paralysed acquiescence; they were passively loyal to every power that arose and was in possession before the British. The Moghuls, no less than the British, had claimed their allegiance. The outstanding aspect of the situation which constituted India's rally round the Flag was the spontaneous loyalty of educated India, which was not the result of sentiment, or of ignorance, but of reason and conviction.

He would have thought that Englishmen, of all people, would be proud of that result as a testimony to the ideals that had underlain their active achievements. Whatever might be their quarrels and differences with the Government of India (and they would be a people unworthy of the tutelage and instruction of England if they did not have their differences with the Government), and whatever might be the ultimate aims to which their national activities were directed, the fact remained that they stood as one man in the upholding and the vindicating of the British connexion, and that not in a spirit of moral collapse, and not because they could not think of other things, but because in the convinced opinion of every educated Indian the future salvation of India was bound up in adequate, honourable and equal co-operation with the British. Apart from other considerations, on the sheer ground of self-interest, the well-being and prosperity of India, they meant to stand by England through thick and thin. (Applause.)

Whatever might be their private differences, these could wait until a settlement of the present issue. In India, as in Ireland and in the Suffrage movement, all agitation was for the time being suspended. As Indians they had buried the hatchet, but not as Bernhardt and others would fain have liked to see, in the heads of the British. It was in that spirit they meant to face the present crisis.

MR. HAROLD MCLEOD said that since the war had started he had been, through the courtesy of the *Times*, trying to bring out the necessity of India knowing what was going on in this war. (Hear, hear.) All present were aware of the bad impressions that the dissemination of false rumours created in the Indian Bazaar. Good news travelled slowly, but bad news travelled fast. Some of them would recollect the time of the Manipur massacre, the news of which was in Calcutta before the Government knew about it. The only way, he thought, to combat false news was by the Government immediately transmitting to India the general news of the war, and of India's own soldiers in particular. No one knew better than their gallant Chairman what the value of this information was to India, and the speaker trusted that that gentleman would use his best endeavours to see that she got prompt and correct information.

MR. DUBÉ said that to praise the loyalty of India was akin to painting the lily. It was nothing new, for history proved time after time that her soldiers had fought the enemies of Britain. But he asked if the time had not arrived when Britishers should rally round the Indian. He complained that men of his country who applied for permission to join the British Army or the Territorials, and were in all respects fitted for service to fight alongside their fellow-subjects, were rejected because, technically, they were not desired. When in India Lord Kitchener was of opinion*

* We have Lord Minto's own authority for saying that his Government, which probably included Lord Kitchener as Commander-in-Chief, not only considered that Indians should hold commissions in the Army, but actually sent home a cut-and-dried scheme for enrolling a regiment officered throughout by Indians. That scheme is in the pigeon-holes of the India Office, and we are not aware that it was shelved "because the Anglo-Indians were against it," as Mr. Dubé says. Lord Minto assured us in 1912 that he did not know even then what had become of it, or why it was shelved.—EDITOR.

that commissions in the Army should be given to Indians who deserved them. He held that opinion very strongly, but because the Anglo-Indians were against the proposal, Lord Kitchener was compelled to hold it over. If the rally of India on the part of the uneducated as well as the educated had been so magnificent, was it not reasonable to expect that a beginning should be made in that direction? A beginning would have to be made some day, but meantime the subject was one that deserved careful consideration.

COLONEL YATE, in moving a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, said that he had felt it a great honour and pleasure to listen to Mr. Yusuf Ali, and to the interesting address of the Chairman. As the Chairman had said, the Indian Army was composed of various tribes, castes, and nations, not only of Sikhs and Gurkhas, but of Rajputs, Maharrattas, Hindustanis, Punjabis, Pathans, Baluchis, Madrasis, and others. History told them how, two hundred and fifty years ago, that great Maharajah of Jodhpur, in the time of the Emperor Aurungzeb, the Maharajah Jeswunt Singh, led his Rajputs in triumph to Cabul, which he supposed was then the political horizon of the Indian Empire. Nowadays the political horizon of the Indian Empire had been vastly enlarged under the ægis of the British Government, and extended even to France and Belgium, and he (the speaker) hoped that before long we should see the present Maharajah of Jodhpur, with that grand old uncle of his, the veteran General Sir Partab Singh, and the Maharajahs of Bikanir and Kishangarh, and other chiefs, leading their Rajputs in triumph not only to Belgium, but even to Berlin. They had also many fine cadets of the Imperial Service Cadet Corps serving at the front, for whom there was a grand military career opening out. He longed to see the opportunities for Indian officers extended in every possible way. They would all be welcomed as comrades in arms. The Imperial Service Cadet Corps was training up a splendid body of young men, and he hoped the Cadet Corps might be greatly enlarged so as to provide a full supply of thoroughly trained and well-educated officers to be gazetted as Lieutenants and Captains, etc., to the Imperial Service Troops from the various native States, in the same way as British officers were gazetted, and thus enable those troops to take their place in line with the regiments of the regular army on terms of perfect equality. For this thoroughly trained officers were necessary, and the Cadet Corps would supply those officers and thus open up a full military career for the young aristocracy of India, which so many of them so much desired.

MR. LESLIE MOORE, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that he did not wish to argue with Mr. Dubé, but it was Lord Minto, and not Lord Kitchener, who made the proposal as to Indian officers. He made a statement to this effect at a meeting of the East India Association. Mr. Moore thought personally it was a most excellent suggestion, and hoped it would be carried out. There was one matter to which allusion had been made in the London Press, and to which he should like to draw attention—viz., that when Indian soldiers were fighting in Europe the usurer in India might rob their wives of their lands. It would be an excellent way

of showing their appreciation of Indian military aid if the Government of India were to stop all attempts of that sort.

MR. IBRAHIM HAJI, who wore khaki, said he had two messages which he had been requested by the Indian soldiers at the front to convey to the people of England. One was from the Muhammadans now serving in the field with regard to Turkey, the second related to the lamented death of Lord Roberts. The first was that the Muhammadan troops would be greatly disappointed if Englishmen and others doubted their loyalty, their honesty, and their faith in the Flag of the British Empire because of the action of Turkey. They desired him to convey to the British people their message in these words: "We have given our pledge in the terms of the soldier's oath, and that pledge will be completed, fulfilled to the very letter to the end of our lives." During the last Balkan War the Muhammadans of India sold the jewellery and other ornaments of their dear wives, took the magnificent clothes of their loving sons, exchanged them into money, and collected other money to send to Turkey to help her wounded and to meet the wants of the Turkish people. It was the same Turkey which, knowing that the Indian troops included the followers of Mahomet, was now sending her soldiers to the front to ruthlessly fight against their co-religionists who, at so recent a date and in the time of her dire distress, succoured and relieved her. But let Turkey and the Young Turkish party remember that the fight once begun would mean that in their conflict with the Indians even the very oceans and mountains would feel shaken. With regard to Lord Roberts, when the news of his death reached the Indian troops, their profound thought was, we have lost a friend, India has lost a hero—he was not a hero of Britain, but a hero of India. In spite of difficulties in India and of their political dissensions and quarrels, Indian students in this country had offered their services in the Territorial service, but they had not been accepted. Their only desire was to fight for a righteous cause. The Indians were true to their promise. To prove that, the moment this country opened a recruiting department in India they would find that every family there would send a useful son to fight for the Empire at the front.

MR. YUSUF ALI: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, at this late hour I do not propose to detain you very long, but the discussion has been so extremely interesting and varied that you will forgive me for making a few remarks on the points raised. As I stated at the outset, my object in reading the paper was to sound what our energetic Secretary calls the trumpet call. I have myself had the privilege of appearing at certain recruiting meetings in this country, and have invariably been received with great courtesy and attention. I found that enthusiasm in one sphere begat enthusiasm in another, and I thought perhaps that from an Indian view one might be allowed freely to speak one's mind on the side of sentiment and poetry. Remember that business is always with us, but poetry rarely is.

The Chairman opened the discussion with very valuable remarks about his appreciation of the Indian Army. I believe the Indian soldiers themselves credit Sir O'Moore Creagh with the desire to get com-

missions for Indians, and I hope I may be allowed to say that I believe the Indian Army is right. I believe Sir O'Moore Creagh will be with us heartily when the question is raised; and I hope it will be carried to a successful conclusion.

Sir Arundel Arundel read two very interesting extracts, the last of which connects itself with the point raised by my friend Mr. McLeod. It is in connection with educating public opinion in India. We know that public opinion is entirely with us so far as it is articulate; but we also know the gropings of the vast dumb millions in India, to whom, perhaps, things are not as clear as they might be; and I think it is the duty both of the Government and of ourselves, who know our own people, to try and do as much as possible to disseminate correct news and information. Of course, it naturally rests with the Government to insure rapidity of transmission, so that the first comer in the field should be correct, honest, British news, untainted with the taint of German "culture."

Mr. Thorburn gave us some extremely interesting remarks, and I am very much obliged to him for the historical survey he took. Mr. Syud Hossain very ably pointed out the significance of the reasoned intellectual loyalty of India. It was not by any means outside my own opinion that the intellectual loyalty of India should be valued. But the point I wished to raise was that at this moment it was not a question of calculating and balancing motives, but the question of recognizing that India has poured out her whole heart; and I am sure the English people will respond in the same spirit. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Dubé followed with remarks about the question of commissions for the Indian Army. That is, indeed, a fascinating subject, and the question has not been raised for the first time. I am sure when the war is over, and we are in a position to discuss it from a businesslike, rather than a poetical, point of view, we shall be able to face that question, and I am quite sure (because I have talked to people about it) that we shall meet with a great deal of sympathy both in England and India.

Colonel Yate has told us about the significance of the Punjabi's sturdy love of fighting, and I am quite sure that if the Punjab is able to raise as many as he has said, my Province, the United Provinces, will be no whit behind. In fact, I am quite sure that if recruiting were opened in India for an extra army—you might call it Lord Kitchener's Army, or the Imperial Army, or the Crisis Army—we could easily raise over a million men. (Hon. Sec.: Many millions of men!) I have looked at some of the records of 1878, when Lord Beaconsfield sent for Indian troops, and it was stated that it would be easy to raise about a million troops in those days. If that were the case, then I am sure I am not exaggerating when I say that, if necessary, and if recruiting were opened on a wide scale, India could raise a million men now. I hear someone saying "Many millions." Well, out of a population of 320 millions you ought to be able to raise a large army, making every allowance for unwarlike sections and tribes. Mr. Moore made some very kindly and generous remarks about the Chairman and myself, and I am very much obliged to him, as also to Mr. Hajj for bringing a message from the wounded. I also had the

privilege two days ago of seeing some of the Indian wounded at Netley Hospital, and what struck me was their tremendous spirit of self-sacrifice. Here were men who had fought so gallantly, and if you wanted them to talk about their own doings and exploits, they were as modest as the most modest of men. One said: "The only thing I know is that I went and sat in the trench, and when the time came to fire I fired, and that is all that I did." I am sure as long as you have that modesty, strength, and determination, and as long as the British, French, Belgians, and our other comrades, co-operate in the same spirit as they have done hitherto, there can be no doubt that within a measurable period of time we shall be able to achieve that noble purpose for which our King-Emperor told us we have unsheathed the sword.

I thank you all for the kindness and attention with which you have listened to me.

The meeting then terminated, the vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer having been carried unanimously.

ENGLISH AUTHORS AND ORIENTAL ORTHOGRAPHY

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

IN my observations on the above matters in a previous number of this *Review*, I questioned the use of the word Phinga by Byron in his poem of "The Giaour"; but I find that Byron was right in using the word, so far as the meaning of it goes, for it signifies the moon in modern Greek. Byron in his "Don Juan" correctly transcribes the Turkish war-cry as "Allah Hú," but both Thomas Moore and Sir Walter Scott make use of the hackneyed form of "Allah illah Allah," employed for centuries by European writers to express the Musalman Kalima, or Confession of Faith: "Lá Illáha ila Alláh" (There is no God but God). Moore writes:

"Allah illah Allah; the glad shout renew!
Allah Akbar! the Caliph's in Merou."

Merou is the modern Merv, and the collection of squalid huts on the reedy banks of the Murghab (wild-fowl river) now represents the splendid scene created by the poet's fancy in the opening canto of the "Veiled Prophet of Khorasan":

"Where, brightest of all streams, the Murga roves
Amid Merou's bright palaces and groves."

Sir Walter Scott in his "Tales of a Grandfather" refers to the war-cry of the Moors in Spain as "Allah illah Allah," and in his "Vision of Don Roderick" writes of "The Tecbir war-cry and the Lelies yell" raised by the Moorish invaders. The Tecbir war-cry is the Takbir, or shout of Allahu Akbar (God is great); the Lelies is the old medieval rendering of the cry of Lá Illáha, etc. Scott borrowed these antiquated expressions from the old histories and romances of chivalry with which he was so familiar. In his novel of the "Talisman" he has put a quotation from the Persian poet Hafiz, who flourished in the fifteenth century, into the mouth of an Arab Amir, or Emir, as he calls him, employed in the Third Crusade (*circa* A.D. 1200); but the learned author was well aware of the anachronism that he was wilfully committing, and apologizes for it in a foot-note.

The poet Marlowe was probably unaware that he was perpetrating an anachronism when he credited Amir Timur with the possession of artillery, like Shakespeare, who provides Falstaff with a pistol at the Battle of Shrewsbury. Marlowe makes his hero Tamburlaine say, addressing his youthful son :

"Boy, hast thou seen a peal of ordnance strike
A ring of pikes, mixed up with shot* and horse?"

Marlowe makes the Turkish title of "Bassa" equivalent to that of king, and Cervantes seems to have been imbued with the same idea, for he writes in "Don Quixote" of Uluch Ali, the Pasha of Algiers, as "Ochali, King of Argeir, a bold and fortunate Corsair." This same Uluch Ali is called by the historian Prescott, Dey of Algiers, but there was no Dey of Algiers till a hundred years after his time. He was Pasha of Algiers, and his name was changed by Sultan Selim II. from Uluch Ali to Qilij Ali in acknowledgment of his valour. A modern Turkish battleship bearing his name figures in English journalism as "Clidge Ali."

* Shot—*i.e.*, arquebusiers.

Sir Edward Creasy, in his "History of the Ottoman Turks," gives the derivation of Pasha as Pá-i-Sháh (Foot of the King); but it is really from the Turkish Bāsh (Head), equivalent to the Persian Sirdar. It was originally called Basha, and in all English literature up to the end of the eighteenth century it appears as Bassa or Bashaw. The modern Turks have softened the "B" into "P," as they have done in other words, such as Byzantium, the ancient name for Constantinople, which they call Puzanta. The derivation from Pá-i-Shah is purely fanciful. The Turks never called their monarch by the title of Shah, except by a poetic license. There exists a Turkish ode in praise of the great Sultan Suliman, which hails him as "Shah, Padishah, Shahinshah, Kaisar, and Khan." And to derive a title of dignity from the foot, instead of from the head, is entirely opposed to Oriental custom and tradition.

The substitution of "P" for "B" is natural to the language of a Musalman people, for the Arabic alphabet has no "P" sound, but represents it by "B," or sometimes by "F," as in Falastín for Palestine. More curious is the transposition of "D" and "T" in the pronunciation of Oriental words by European lips. This is an almost universal rule. Muhammad was always called Mahomet, and Ahmad was written Achmet, until quite recently; the Turkish Targumán (Interpreter) was called Druggerman by our ancestors, and is still called Dragoman by ourselves; similarly Dulband became in English first Tulipant, and afterwards Turband and Turban. A double instance of this transposition is afforded by the name of the famous Corsair Torghud Pasha, who is known to European historians as "Dragut," and figures in one of the Spanish ballads translated by Lockhart, as Dragut the Corsair. The Turks seem to have an equal difficulty in discriminating between the two sounds; the name of Levend given by them to their Marine Corps is evidently a corruption of the Italian Levante; and they call the River Danube

"Tona," which is their way of pronouncing the German name "Donau."

The Spanish language has naturally incorporated more Oriental words than any other European tongue, and many of the Arabic words adopted into it represent the original pronunciation very fairly; as, for instance, Alcayde, Alguazil, Alcantara; while others are strange transmutations like Mazarquivir for Marsa al Kebir (the Great Harbour); Guadalquivir for Wádi al Kebir (the Great River); Miramolin for Mir al Mumenin (Prince of Believers), etc. The Portuguese historians of their conquests in India try to reproduce the sounds of the language of their "Moorish" opponents, writing Mir Hoçem for Mir Husain, and Melique Az for Malik Ayáz; and they and the Dutch and English adventurers who followed them made most adventurous attempts at the transliteration of Indian words and names. Of these, the historian Orme may be taken as a concrete example. In his pages the Phouzdar (Faujdár) of Arcot is called by the honorary appellation of Nabob (Nawwáb): the Morattoes (Mahrattas, or, more correctly, Marhattas) ravage the Carnatic under the leadership of Innis Cawn (Yúnus Khán), and encounter the English Sepoys under the command of Mahomed Issoof (Yusuf). Mortiz Ally (Murtuza Ali) is the ruler of Vellore, and the arch-villain of the Black Hole of Calcutta is Surajah Dowlah (Siraj-ad-Daula, the Lamp of the State). Macaulay preferred to follow Orme rather than to alter accustomed names by a correct transliteration, and calls the Náwwáb Anwar-ud-Dín Khán by the grotesque name of Anaverdy Khan. He also copies Orme in calling the son of Chanda Sahib, Rajah Sahib; his proper name was Razá Sahib. In his Essay on Clive, Macaulay quotes a letter of Siráj-ad-Daula's about "Clive, the daring in war, on whom may all bad fortune attend!" What the Nawwáb wrote was: "Clive Sabit Jang," this being the title conferred on the English hero by the Mughal Emperor, and it signifies not "the daring in war," but "the steadfast in war."

All the leaders of the English were at that time known to the Musalmans of India by the titles conferred upon them by the moribund Court at Delhi, in accordance with the fiction that they derived all their power and authority in India from the phirmaunds (firmáns) of the Mughal Emperor. Lord Clive was Sabit Jang, and Warren Hastings was Hushiár Jang (the Alert in War).

Macaulay, in his Essay on the latter, mentions as a proof of his popularity with the natives that they invented and repeated a jingling rhyme about "the fleet horses and richly caparisoned elephants of Sahib Warren Hostein."

This jingling rhyme was really a satirical effusion on the Governor-General's hurried flight from Benares :

"Chore par hauda, hathi par zín,
Jaldi bahr játa Sáhib Waran Hastín,"

which may be translated freely as—

"Saddles on elephants, howdahs on horses,
Warren Hastings' departure a most rapid course is."

The same distich with some variations was made to do duty for Colonel Monson's hurried retreat before the Mahrattas not long after Warren Hastings' undignified exit from Benares.

IN JAVA : THE VALLEY OF DEATH

By J. F. SCHELTEMA, M.A.

THE miraculous Valley of Death in the island of Java, together with the fabulous effects of sleeping under the Upas or Poison Tree (*Antiaris toxicaria* Lesch.), has always exercised a strong hold on the imagination of travellers. In popular credence it has survived, up to this day, like the rest of ancient geographic tales about supernatural phenomena like the fountain of life, singing and talking forests, mountains of loadstone, etc., probably because there is a germ of truth in its ugly reputation. Though he puts it in the "Lordschipe of Prestre John" instead of in the "Yle of Java", Sir John Mandeville may have meant 'it when he spoke of the "marveylous thing" beside the Isle of Mistorak, near the River Phison, the "Vale betwene the Mountaynes, that durethe pyghe a 4 Myle : and summen clepen it the Vale enchaunted ; some clepen it the Vale of Develes, and some clepen it the Vale perilous." If so, he seems to have confused wild tales of poisonous caverns, where undreamt-of wealth was to be had for the trouble of picking it up, with equally distorted information concerning the Valley of Death proper, when he alluded in one breath to "Gold and Sylver, and precious Stones, and rich Jewelles gret plentee," and to "Develes visibely and bodyly . . . that maken fulle many dyverse Assaultes and Menaces in Eyr and in Erthe, and agasten hem (*i.e.* those that wenten in for covetyse of the Thresoure that was

there, and hadden over moche feblenesse in Feithe) with strokes of Thondre blastes and of Tempestes," the most dread being "that God wole taken Vengeance thanne, of that men han mysdon azen his Wille." But Sir John, stable in the faith, could enter like other really good Christian people, "welle withouten perile: for thei wil first schryven hem, and marken hem with the tokene of the Holy Cross; so that the Fendes ne han no Power over hem." Once inside, he continues, "I was more devout, thanne evere I was before or after, and alle for the drede of Fendes, that I saughe in dyverse Figures; and also for the gret multytude of dede Bodyes (manye of them in habite of Christene men whose Hertes ne myghte not endure in the Beleve for drede) that I saughe there liggyng be the Weye, be alle the Vale, as thoughe there had ben a Bataylle betwene 2 Kynges and the myghtyest of the Contree, and that the gretter partye had ben discomfyted and slayn. And I trowe that unethe scholde ony Contree have so moche peple with in him, as lay slayn in that Vale, as us thoughte; the whiche was an hidouse sight to seen. And I mervyllled moche, that there weren so manye, and the Bodyes all hole, with outen rotyng. But I trowe, that Fendes made hem semen to ben so hole, with outen rotyng."

Whatever the source of Sir John Mandeville's narrative and the exact geographical position of his "marveylous thing" beside the Isle of Mistorak near the River Phison, the world-wide notoriety of the Valley of Death, a place associated with deepest horror, rather increased after its location in the island of Java by later travellers, some of whom in phantasy or credulity almost surpassed their predecessor of the fourteenth century. Dr. Horsfield states (*Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, Batavia, viii., 171, 201, 279 ff.) that in October, 1816, he was kept back from a visit to the Valley of Death by native superstition, the spot being considered sacred like the Guwa Upas of the Pakūwojo in the neigh-

bourhood, and the Guwa Galang of Palimanan. In July, 1830, the Valley of Death was explored by A. Loudon, who, in a letter to Professor Jameson (*Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, xii., 102), gives the Valley of Death, which he calls Guwo Upas, a circumference of half a mile, its bottom being covered with the bones of men, tigers and other wild animals, and birds of all kinds. In September of the same year it attracted a visitor whose anonymous communication to the *Javasche Courant*, Batavia, September 30, 1830, also mentions dead men, tigers, peacocks, wild pigs and deer, to which he added a few dogs, experimented upon and suffocated by the gaseous exhalations of the soil. A writer in *Das Ausland* of March 27, 1837, No. 86, expanding on Sir John Mandeville's four miles, gives the Valley of Death a length of twenty. Most bombastic in his exaggeration is Dominee S. A. Buddingh D.D. (quoted by Sevenhoven, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, ii., 244), whose information dates from 1839: We came to a region over which Nature, apparently, has pronounced her curse, inspiring terror and awe in everyone who beholds it for the first time. I mean the calamitous region, inclosed between the crests of high mountains, where no shrub, no herb thrives; where all is barren and bare, the image of destruction and annihilation—I mean the so-called Valley of Suffocation or, to express it better, the Valley of Death. There Death has raised his black tent, unfurled his banner of mourning. A clammy shudder seizes us, our hearts tremble when our eyes look down in the abyss where nothing lives and all that received life must die. It is the habitation of invisible Death—Death for man and beast. . . .

Even if we make the necessary allowance for a professional habit of pulpit eloquence and for an unquestionable decrease of energy in the natural forces at work on the Diëng Plateau, to the volcanic manifestations of which the Pakamaran or Valley of Death belongs, the good Dominee cannot escape the suspicion of having been a victim to

the Maya, or illusion theory, among surroundings where, except subterraneous fire, subtle influences of ancient Hindu phantasmagoria are apt to reveal their presence. It was Franz Willhelm Junghuhn, the eminent, indefatigable, careful observer, who, in his topographical, botanical and geological description of Java, reduced the Valley of Death to its right proportions, sober reality being no less wonderful because stripped of legendary dangers, terrific apparitions and an infernal stage-setting. The noted Valley of Death in the Island of Java, namely, a funnel-shaped hole in the slope of a mountain, says Junghuhn, measures at the top 100 and at the bottom 50 feet. In the middle of the bottom is a bare spot of 15 feet diameter, which from time to time develops carbonic acid gas. This hole is situated in the lower part of a ridge which descends in a southerly direction from the Gunoong Pakaraman, opposite the Gunoong Nogosari. . . . The north edge of the hole is about 200 feet higher than the south edge, because it lies on a slope which descends to the south; the bottom is about 100 feet lower than the south edge. . . . The carbonic acid gas is not always discernible. In July, 1838, there was not a trace of it, since a dog, which we drove down, sniffed for longer than fifteen minutes at a dead body stretched out on the bare spot in the middle, and remained as lively as ever. In March, 1840, the layer of gas reached a height of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 feet, for a dog which I had taken down with me and kept on leash, died in a convulsive fit, as if stifled, while I was able to walk round without any prickings in the lungs. The dead body, noticed in 1838, apparently of a native belonging to the lower classes, lay in 1840 still in the same place, only slightly decomposed. Its preservation during two years proves that it had been covered, if not continuously, at least repeatedly, with a layer of carbonic acid gas which protected it from the oxygen of the atmosphere, a necessary factor in decomposition. . . . In 1845 those human remains were gone; no trace was even discernible

of the bones which ought to have been left if more rapid decomposition had done away with the fleshy parts ; it must, therefore, be supposed that the body at last had received burial. . . . In 1845 I found the carcasses of six wild pigs in different states of decomposition, but only one human body has been observed in the Pakaraman during the twelve years I spent in Java. According to this standard we can judge the exaggerated narratives of some travellers. . . . Carcasses of tigers I have never found. It looked strange to me always to fall in with so many carcasses of wild pigs in this deep pit, whose banks are so steep that the descent is a matter of some difficulty. . . . I visited the Pakaraman thirteen times, starting from Batoor and Diëng in the years 1838, 1840 and 1845, and observed only four times carbonic acid gas in it.

Having made its first acquaintance in 1885, the present writer considered himself fortunate in being able to visit the Valley of Death repeatedly afterward during frequent sojourns on the Diëng Plateau, ascending from the East, West and South to that marvellous region—marvellous both on account of natural phenomena connected with volcanic action and of the architectural relics : temples, causeways, strongholds, which testify to the splendour of Java in her too little known pre-Muhammadan period. As my last pilgrimage thither was undertaken in combination with visits to the two other *mofettes* of most renown in Java, the Paja Galang or Shambles, near Telaga Bodas, and the Guwa Galang or Slaughter-hole of Palimanan, a few words regarding my experience in those places may precede my observations relative to the condition and salient features of the Pakamaran half a century and more after its thorough exploration by Junghuhn.

Animal life is affected by all in the same way and the noxious exhalations seem to differ in no respect from those observed, *e.g.*, in the Grotto del Cane near the Stufe di San Germano on the south bank of the Lago d'Agnano, that lion of the picturesque Phlegræan Plain. But for

picturesqueness even the "Contorni di Napoli" must yield to the "Negri Jawa", and for weird interest the Grotto del Cane to the Guwa Galang. As to the Paja Galang, best known because easily reached from Garoot, a health resort of well-deserved repute in the Preanger mountains, it offers little more to the view, like the Guwa Upas of the Pakuwojo, than a small, yellowish-grey coloured spot, bare of vegetation, the propriety of whose name, the Shambles, is upheld by the mortal remains of hundreds of insects, rarely of birds. The place is reported also to have been dangerous in former times to larger animals, not excepting man. A diminished supply of carbonic acid gas hardly points, however, to a gradual extinction of underground forces in that area of volcanic turbulence; the fire-mountains round about are as active as ever and occasionally provide unpleasant surprises in the form of earthquakes, showers of ashes and worse.

The Guwa Galang or Slaughter-hole of Palimanan is situated to the north of the (for the present extinguished) volcano Cherimai, in the eastern part of the range of cliffs which, composed of limestone with shells and coral embedded, rise from heights of from fifty to a hundred feet, their horizontal strata projecting in places like flights of stairs. Their structure being highly favourable to the formation of caves, a good many are there to be found: the Guwa Lawa (most spacious of all), the Guwa Dalam, the Guwa Koppia, etc., but none of them in such bad repute as the mortiferous Guwa Galang. Coming from the Preanger Regencies on my last visit, the best way was to take the steam-cars at Kadipaten. Though nearest to our goal at the station Kedoong Boonder, we continued our voyage by rail to Jamblang, a *desa* with a large sprinkling of Chinese among the native population, where means of conveyance could be procured for the journey farther on. Then we drove past the *aloon aloon*, the common of Palimanan, with the residence of the *wedono*, the chief of the district; past Gempol, between the *benting*,

the fortress, and the cemetery with a sugar-mill in the background; past a lime-kiln where the road turns to the left and an increasing smell of brimstone announces satanic revelations. The smell proceeds from Cipanas, the sulphurous "hot water" which springs from the soil in bubbling, boiling pools and leaves on everything it touches a thick coating of sparry sediment; higher up, close to the cliffs, mineral pitch oozes down and stagnates in great quantity. Here and there the fuming streams are led to bath-rooms, ramshackle bambu sheds in which natives and Chinamen, sometimes Europeans too, seek to turn the medicinal properties of the strongly impregnated water to their benefit for the cure of certain diseases. Other primitive buildings of the same material serve the convenience of visitors and are inhabited by the guardians of the Slaughter-hole and its appendix, the Spa, descendants, perhaps, of the priests mentioned by Junghuhn as the officiating clergy of the holy cave.

Descendants of the holy monkeys—genus *ceruopithecus cynomolgus*—that were honoured here in the Hindu period, centuries and centuries ago, are gambolling round in lusty abandon. Like their ancestors, they consider the grounds of the Guwa Galang their private property, and their appearance in legions to size up any new intruder among the motley crowd of bathers, hopeful of recovery from distemper and infirmity, brings an element of the humorous unforeseen in a scene where nothing but the dreadful preternatural was expected, tinges the lugubrious with the wantonly ludicrous. From all sides the monkeys arrived, inspected our vehicle while the coachman unhitched his horses, watched us through the windows and doors of the rest-house where we began discussing our lunch, peeped through crevices and crannies, not disdaining to accept what we dispensed, only a few, however, being bold or hungry enough to take it from our hands with eager snatches, rather preferring our offerings to be thrown to them or to be deposited at some distance. Though a good

deal of bickering was going on amongst them for the daintiest morsels, the large ones forming a sort of police, and the biggest of all, an authoritative, quasi-dignified-looking ape, their *raja* or king, exacting implicit obedience, able and quick to enforce his decision by bodily strength, a praiseworthy *esprit de corps* was unmistakable; whenever we tried to catch one, the whole herd rushed up, showing their teeth in defence of their sacrilegiously threatened relative. Nothing less could be expected of holy monkeys who, in dwindling numbers, have to keep up grand and noble family traditions. Their cousins of the Diëng are already extinct, but other colonies, near the sources of the Progo and at Banyu Biru, the "blue water" of Pasuruan, flourish still under the same mode of constitutional government, with the most meritorious, *i.e.*, the most vigorous for executive, subsisting on the produce of their inherited domain and on the donations of the strangers within their gates, inducing such of their visitors as do not possess the devotion of spiritual knowledge which leads to salvation in the fullest sense of the word, according to the creed of their Hindu forefathers on another plane of existence, to practise at least the devotion of works, alms in particular, which leads to an inferior degree of bliss.

The sulphurous springs of Palimanan Chipanas are only in the outskirts of their territory. The ancestral home of the holy monkeys lies higher up in the trees of the forest round the Slaughter-hole, the holy Guwa Galang, which it is their duty to protect, scouting and standing guard for the holy serpent, a snake of enormous size, appointed to keep the treasure there hidden, a monster no one ever beheld though, perhaps because of its constant change of habitat, as it is supposed to watch also the Guwa Lawa and other entrances to the inner cavern of wealth. We were led through the jungle, in itself a treat, especially for my companion, well skilled in botany, who spied many things of beauty and, for instance, directed my attention to a tamarind, blown down, from which in three places shoots had sprung,

each of them already a stately tree, living on the parent stem. A walk of ten minutes brought us to a cluster of old, weather-worn graves at the foot of the cliffs which, about 200 feet above the level of the sea, present a rugged surface with many fissures and clefts. The one we had come for, the Guwa Galang, was shown at the base of a crag, rather more than 100 feet high. Its entrance, under a vault-like projection of the rock, closed by two doors, the one inside the other, to protect the unwary curious with twofold solicitude, is framed with creepers, climbing plants in wild variety, and the roots of the trees which cover the steep sides of the precipice, obliged to go deep down for nutriment. Darkness was our first and most prevailing impression after the unlocking of the doors and, to speak with the traveller of the fourteenth century, "we weren in gret thought, whether that we dursten putten our Bodyes in aventure, to gon in or non," even when satisfied as to the huge serpent's temporary absence by our guides firing a volley of stones into the yawning hole. "Hidouse for to beholde," it looked, indeed, like "on of the entrees of Helle," *Charoneæ mortiferum spiritum exhalantes*, as Pliny puts it, referring to the Grotto del Cane, but the Slaughter-hole of decidedly grimmer aspect and more poisonous than the now hackneyed *spiraculum in agro Puteolano*. It differs from the Valley of Death in this : that its deadly activity does not indulge in periodical rest, perhaps because no purifying beam of light ever penetrates its dismal gloom : sun, moon and stars shun alike this fearsome cave. Descending, a prickly feeling in the nose, a stinging sensation in the lungs, soon gave warning that it was better to withdraw. We did not repeat Jung-huhn's experiments with animals when, in 1837, he entered the Guwa Galang, accompanied by Dr. Fritze, taking it for granted that the carbonic acid gas, heavier than air, is of worse effect on chickens and dogs which inhale it near the ground, than on man, who exposes his organs of respiration in a much thinner layer of the noxious damp and yet has to be on the alert if he wishes to secure a timely retreat.

Safely outside and drawing a long breath before a second plunge into the perilous abyss, we were amused by the wardens of the Slaughter-hole having recourse to the holy monkeys for a few moments of diverting recreation between two efforts of hazardous enterprise, as in grand opera the *ballerine* are summoned to enliven a frenetic drama of human passion by tripping the light fantastic toe of foolish levity between two acts of fondest love and most cruel hate. The summoning of our *corps de ballet* on this occasion did not happen through the priests beating the stalactites of the cave with a stick, producing a mighty sound which brought the forest to life, as Junghuhn relates, but simply by a whistling call, a drawling "tjoo-oo! tjoo-oo-oo!"

The holy monkeys were not far away, being on business at the Guwa Galang. Their behaviour was much more solemn and sedate than when foraging near the sulphur-springs. They were of the rising generation, truly, for youth is ever frivolous, and there was plenty of sweethearting going on, fair, coquettish maidens, provocatively jabbering, daring their admirers to chase them, swinging from branch to branch with enticing airs and playful pulling of tails before final flirtings in cosy corners, screened from rival eyes by the thick foliage: idyllic scenes, reminding one of Juvenal's simian reference to the data furnished by Herodotus and Strabo concerning the woods, *umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus*. . . . But the aged sires and dames, the matrons and their lords in wedlock, whose honeymoon was a thing of the past, sat gravely contemplating us, or lost in philosophic meditation, aspiring doubtless to the state of the bodiless saint once venerated in this spot, while the monkey-king, surrounded by his councillors and followed by the rest of his nobility and such commoners as had nothing else to attend to, either in the way of duty or courtship, honoured us with his company down to the boundary of his realm. Clamouring for rice and bread and fruit, the royal escort appeared very anxious to obtain extraordinary merit, in accordance with the

tenets of the ancient religion, by gaining perfection in the fourth and last stage of a hallowed life—that of a mendicant.

Our coachman managed to drive us to Jamblang in time for the last train to Cheribon, where we spent the next day in renewing our acquaintance with the lions of that interesting place: the graves of the old rulers of the land; the country-house of Sooltan Sepooh, near the *dessa* Sunjaragi; the sacred *grobak*, that is the miraculously preserved vehicle in which the founder of the town, Sunan Gunoong Jati, descended from heaven, according to one of the numerous legends connected with this relic, supposed to be much more ancient than it looks.

From Cheribon to Pekalongan, also on the north coast of the island, is seven hours by rail, taking the express, *i.e.*, what passes for an express; locals need nine hours. The ascent to the Valley of Death is best accomplished from the east by the route I generally took, leading from Wonosobo via Garoong, or from Temanggoong via Parakan, or from Samarang via Boja; in this case the hospitality of one of my friends, owner of coffee-plantations in that beautiful mountain region, offered a welcome halfway resting-place, he himself and his accomplished wife often joining me on my excursions in the surrounding country they knew so well. But starting on horseback from Pekalongan in the north, via Batang and Bandarwidayu, or from Banjarnegara in the south, via Karangobar, as I once did on foot, Batoor, where the two roads meet, and, with a little despatch, the *pasangrahan* on the Diëng Plateau, can be easily reached in a day. Coming from Batoor, the Valley of Death lies to the left, a little beyond the hamlet Pakasiran, where the Kali Putih, or White River, flows past the lakelet or spring of Jolo Toondo.

Dismounting, I left my pony in charge of the villagers, to take the path, well-remembered from former visits, which leads—about fifteen minutes' walk—up the slope of the Gunoong Jimat, the Talisman Mountain, to the brink

of the Pakaraman, the Selected Spot as the natives call this notorious *mofette*. It was early. In order to catch the Pakaraman at work before the sun, enemy of night's unholy excesses, should arrest its murderous rage, I had passed the night at Batoor and travelled on with the first grey of dawn heralding a new morning. The grey, melting away in streaks of colour more and more intense, flaming red and gold, preceded the Eye of Day over the mountain-tops when I arrived at the *dessa* Pakasiran, and now they stood resplendent in the full radiance of heaven,

Dipt in the richest tincture of the skies,
Where light disports in ever-mingling dyes.

Yet, the birds still appeared remarkably shy of the declivity beneath me, swerving to right and left in wide curves, a sure sign that they did not consider it quite safe just then. Especially the raven (*corvus corona*), which preys upon the victims of the fatal hollow, is mentioned by Junghuhn as a good eudiometer. But I had come on purpose to observe the Valley of Death in its most destructive mood and decided therefore to run the risk, repeating previous experiments, notwithstanding the feathered danger signal; so I descended with the utmost circumspection, neglecting, however, to be "schryven and houseld." As a matter of fact, I lacked the opportunity happily afforded to Sir John Mandeville, who let mass be sung by his two worthy companions, friars minor of Lombardy [and Oderic of Pordenone one of them?], when he entered fourteen all told, reduced to nine at going out, the rest having succumbed, "or elle turned azen for drede," anyhow not seen ever after. No devils beset me with arts of strangulation, or prepared for me the same fate as for those luckless ones, though a strange odour of decay, mingled with the perfume of the tropical forest, and the keen air at that hour and that altitude—about 6,000 feet. This was, indeed, a change from the oppressive heat of the lowlands, the chilliness being aggravated by the dewy moisture of the jungle though

which the steep, narrow path led downward, and made me feel rather uncomfortable. The sides of the Valley of Death are thickly overgrown with a luxurious vegetation, gigantic trees rising in a tangle of ferns and underbrush which stops abruptly at a distance of some 3 feet from the bottom. This indicates that the carbonic acid gas never, or seldom, rises higher than that. I halted where I touched the bare surface, noticing a thin, bluish damp hanging over the ground, a mixture of the poisonous emanations and dew ; then cautiously passing on, I was able to stand on the edge of the perilous space in the middle, without being "cast down to the hard Erthe be Wyndes and Thondres and Tempestes"; in other words: without suffering inconvenience from the gas developed at my feet, unless I stooped too low, in which case nose and lungs gave immediate warning to desist. Dogs (they are scarce in this neighbourhood) and chickens would doubtless have fared worse ; torches, lit at a height of 4 or 5 feet, were extinguished as soon as brought below the knee. Unexpectedly an under-current, produced by the breeze rustling through the tree-tops overhead, disturbed the atmospheric condition of the treacherous pit and carried a whiff of the blue damp in my direction, which made me scramble up the bank, and resolve to wait until things should look more propitious for further exploration. Relying upon the sun's faithful performance of his daily task as the terrifier of death, I tackled my breakfast, seasoned with the legendary lore of the Pakaraman which, in days of old, did good service as the arsenal of gods and demi-gods and subordinate spirits forging their deadly weapons : plague and pestilence. Privileged mortals too, like King Baladewa in de Brata Yuda war, are credited with participation in the facilities of this mythological workshop for military preparation.

At ten o'clock I determined to descend once more : the flight of the birds was auspicious. The friendly rays of the sun had begun their hygienic labour and where

they went I did not hesitate to follow, crossing and re-crossing the barren spot at the bottom. Soon I was even able to lie prone on the ground, unmolested by the gas, though the flame of the matches which I struck and held against fissures in the rocky part of the soil became instantly extinguished. The corroded appearance of those fissures, not unlike miniature reproductions of solfataras, led Junghuhn to suspect that, concurrently or alternately with carbonic acid gas, sulphuretted hydrogen is developed. This time, as usual, I found the more or less wasted remains of birds and small mammals ; also the mouldering carcass of a wild pig, which explained the odour of decay, for the process of disintegration does not always or wholly take place "with outen rotynge". That the emanations of the Valley of Death assist this process greatly, and possess an inherent consuming power, may be inferred from the fact that all organic substances are most easily destroyed where most exposed to its action. Of bones, feathers, pieces of skin, etc., lying on the boulders which jut out from the sides of the Pakamaran, first the overhanging parts disappear and finally the parts protected by the stone, which are therefore least accessible to the damp. The big boulder in the middle reminds again of Sir John Mandeville's narrative : "And in mydde place of that Vale, undir a Roche, is an Hed and the Visage of a Devyl bodyliche, fulle horrible and dreadfule to see," . . . "and fro him comethe out Smoke and Stynk and Fuyr, and so moche Abhomynacioun, that unethe no man may there endure." I persisted pretty well, however, notwithstanding the *diabolus loci*, searching the grey gravel for what I might discover and noticed that the surface of the hollow is continually raised by decayed and decaying matter : the upper side of the demoniacal boulder, which, in 1885, measured 2 or 3 inches from the ground, had become nearly level with it, another proof that all that loses life in the Valley of Death speedily turns to dust. The disappearance before 1845 of the human body, sniffed at by Junghuhn's dog in 1838 and

1840, is quite consistent with my observations on this and previous occasions, and needs no hypothetical, long-deferred burial to account for it. If the bones of dead men and animals mentioned by him and other travellers had remained in some state of preservation for the ordinary length of time, the hollow ought to present the aspect of a charnel-house, and nothing is farther from the truth. Personally, I never found human bodies or cadavera of larger animals than wild pigs. Inasmuch as concerns tigers, it may be that these more savage inhabitants of the woods are retiring before the encroachments of civilisation, though the increasing traffic on the comparatively much-frequented road, at barely a quarter of an hour's distance, has not resulted, so far, in scaring them definitively off the sheep-folds of the Diëng and Batoor.

I did not proceed to the *pusangrahan*, the rest-house of the Diëng, as I had more on my programme and so, when the sun began to decline, I left the fearsome vale, happily "with outen perile and with outen encombrance." Silent and lovely and innocent until its nocturnal virulence should resubstantiate its claims to be the gruesome Valley of Death, it looked rather like a Valley of Delight, and was loath to leave. Retracing my steps to the *dessa* Pakasiran, the Telaga or Sumoor Jolo Toondo demanded my first attention. This little lake or spring is endowed with several extraordinary characteristics: the changes in the colour of its water foreshadow coming events and whoever is able to throw a stone from a certain spot to the opposite bank, may count, in native belief, on being *keslamat*, i.e., favoured by fortune for the rest of his days. There the path branches off that leads to the Telaga Dringo, a lake from which a brook, the Kali Sinilo, runs south to expand into a lakelet of the same name, and thence, mingling with the Kali Putih below the Sumut Jolo Toondo, to flow into the Kali Dolok, a mountain stream in its turn fed by a lake, the sulphurous Telaga Leree. This confluence of waters forms the western boundary of the world of marvels I was

skirting—the Diëng. On the way to Telaga Dringo it is only a few paces to the right, where the steep ascent commences, to the Kawa Dringo, more generally known as the Chondro di Muka, a hole in the ground which emits with loud rumbling a thick, white, sulphurous damp. Regarding this solfatara too, exaggeration has been, at work or, rather, tried to lend them a more terrific aspect. Not to speak of Sir John Mandeville's "grete Murmures and Noyses" . . . "as it were sown of Tabours and of Nakeres and Trompes, as though it were of a gret feste," even Professor Veth, the geographer of Java, who collected his material without ever visiting the island (it be said to his exculpation), gave the opening a diameter of from 15 to 20 feet. From 2 to 3 feet comes nearer the mark, and the mistake, corrected in later editions of his admirable work, is the more pardonable because of the frequent confusion between the Chondro di Muka and the Kawah Kidang on the slope of the Pangonan. Day or night, they are always growling, the former loudest of the two in the dry season, the latter in the wet monsoon, impressive voices of warning on this playground of cosmic energy.

• Thrilling excitement—so near the source of destruction and apparently so safe! The human spirit possesses a precious privilege in its capacity for the enjoyment of sensations intimately connected with terror, distilling pleasurable emotions from calamity hovering round. I never realised this so much as once, having traversed the magnificent Sand-Sea of the Bromo and, on the brink of the crater, looking down, being suddenly enveloped in darkness and ashes by a diminutive eruption, losing calm admiration of the beauties of Nature in the necessity of a gallop down for life, not more than a span ahead of suffocation, the bright cheerfulness of a brilliant morning changing into black distress by nothing but a sportive little puff of smoke from the old fire-giant. . . .

Other holes near the Chondro di Muka are filled with a yellowish white, sulphurous liquid, seething pools which

overflow into the Kali Putih, their damp when blown to my side becoming highly offensive and having a deteriorating effect on my watch-chain. At dusk, moreover, it seemed time to mount my pony and spur on to the Diëng Plateau, that wonderland where the Arjuno temples and the Bimo and the Katot Kocha blossom forth from the volcanic soil like rare flowers, gems bequeathed by a strangely stirred past whose titanic wars and revolutions live but dimly in legend and tradition. Amazing things I had seen, but the most amazing, I knew, lay before me, and I spurred on towards the ancient city of worship, the incandescent mountain-tops burning and glowing in the setting sun—so reigned on those heights the light of Hindu culture in the minds of men, a light of civilisation that set without rising again when new religions came. . . .

Such thoughts filled my mind while careering through Pakisan and Dolok, thoughts of occult impulse I had to yield to, driven by the power of an age forgotten but still of mighty influence. And mightier yet it moved me when in the starry twilight I came up with the youths of Pawuan and Diëng Kulon, leading their horses from the springs to shelter, like the shades of their forefathers.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

DEAR SIR,

I have been much interested in the article by Dewan in your May issue, on the "Future of the Chiefs of India," but quite apart from the Chiefs themselves, and their younger brothers who will not rule, a matter for urgent consideration is the fate and *the future of the younger sons of the greater and lesser nobles of India*. The younger sons of a ruling Chief are, after all, few in number, and they are well cared for, while the younger sons, to whom I refer, are numerous, and possess all the traditions of a ruling class. It is a matter which I have frequently urged, and I am in entire agreement with Dewan in his interesting and lucid article. It is a subject which cannot be too strongly pressed for the consideration of the Government of India. The younger sons of the ruling Chief are in a different category. It is true they will not rule, but, by custom, they are usually given a large estate, and the management of this gives them occupation.

There is, however, an aspect of the case which Dewan has not referred to, but which is closely bound up with this question, and which I am sure he has not overlooked. I refer to the quality of administrative and executive ability available within the borders of a Native State, on which

a ruling Chief can rely for the efficient administration of his territory. There is a well-known paucity of trained officials available from the local subjects of the ruling Chief, and the reasons for this are mainly three :

1. The standard of administration is generally not so high in a Native State as in British India.

2. The educated classes are not so numerous or advanced.

3. Ruling Chiefs do not encourage the younger sons of their leading families and landowners as much as they might to take a healthy interest in the administration of their country, and I have known openings closed to them and given in preference to men not so well qualified to take a share in loyally assisting their Chief in the government of his country.

I have had a fair experience of government in Native States, and I have repeatedly urged the desirability of encouraging younger sons of the leading nobles and families of the State to not only receive an education but to use it. At the present moment there are a fair number of youths of good family who receive an education up to the matriculation standard, and sometimes even beyond this. What becomes of them? They leave school and return to their village, because they cannot obtain employment suited to their position in life, and their end has been faithfully described by Dewan. They cannot become clerks on the very small starting pay given to ordinary junior clerks in this country. They would sooner live on a pittance in their village than do what they consider is against their "izzat." But they could with training fill certain posts very usefully. The sons of the less wealthy landowners of the State could, for instance, fill some of the subordinate upper posts where outdoor supervision is required. There is no reason whatever why, with training, they should not become useful sub-overscers and overseers on engineering works or ex police inspectors, or Customs darogas, etc. There are plenty of

appointments for which they are suited. The younger sons whose parents are better off can, however, well afford to give them a higher education, and would gladly do so if they saw that it would be any use whatever to the boys' future career, and that it would secure for them entrance to the higher official appointments in British India, such as the Indian Civil Service, the Public Works Department, State Railways, Forests, the Education Department, the Police, the Medical Service, or the uncovenanted higher posts in the Provincial Civil Service of India, or even a suitable appointment in their own State.

The preceding has been written to emphasize the contention of Dewan that it is by throwing open to these younger sons certain avenues of employment in Native States and in British India under the Government of India that the necessary stimulus to the life of this class can be given, and this will indirectly react on the quality of administrative and executive ability available in Native States. If these younger sons can find employment in British India, they will be trained in a higher ideal of public service. They will thereafter be available for employment in their own States, and will bring a trained experience and a critical knowledge to the problems of administration in their own country. They will introduce a higher standard of public service within the boundaries of the Native State they serve, and to their undoubted loyalty to their Chief they will add an independence and integrity of spirit which is sadly needed in the official life of these States where the officials are too often animated by motives of self-interest, or by a servile instinct of pandering to what they think will best please their Chief, quite apart from what will best serve their country. The latter consideration often takes a very subordinate position in their ideas of public service. This is no great matter for surprise. Generations of experience of arbitrary methods, and the indifference to disinterested service, has left them sadder and wiser men, and has taught them that it is better to make hay while the sun shines and

to feather their nests against the day when they may suddenly lose their appointment to give place to someone who has successfully intrigued to displace them, and to secure the coveted appointment for himself or some friend. Younger sons of the nobles of the State are not conspicuous in this atmosphere. They live and die, mostly, in the petty affairs of their small village, often at a comparatively early age, after a useless and possibly somewhat vicious career.

With the present policy there is a ring fence round British India. The services of the Indian Government are only open to natives of British India. No subject of a Native State need apply. But if the Government of India would encourage the educated lads who pass out of the Mayo College, the Rajkote College, the Daly College, Indore, and the Aitchison College at Lahore, and would ear-mark for each College a certain number of appointments in British India, and would thereafter allow these trained men to be taken over by their Native States, if required, after, let us say, ten years' service in British India, they would strengthen the bonds with the Native States and would attract some of the best elements in their national life. The people of these States would learn what the true significance of a united India is, through the medium of this body of men, who would introduce, into their own administration, a leaven of executive and administrative ability which would react favourably on the traditions of public service in a Native State; while they would bring a wider outlook into the affairs and the vision of the people. A most important result would be that their influence would put new life into the lives of the class to which they belong. A new ambition and a higher ideal would be placed before them, and the educative influence of this small body of trained men would be immense. Other younger sons who could not hope for service under the Indian Government would be fired with the ambition to at any rate serve their own Chief well, and with a higher standard of true

independence and integrity than is at present the case. It is foolish to expect immediate results, but, if we will only look forward some fifty years, it must be clear to us that the educative value of this small body of younger sons on their fellow countrymen will be of the very greatest service. It is from without then, by introducing a new ideal and a trained experience, that the standard and the quality of administrative and executive ability available within Native States can be improved. And yet, while it will be introduced from without, it will be done by the men who come from within the borders of the Native States to which they belong; and while they will not perhaps see the results in their own lifetime, they may be proud in the knowledge that it is their training and experience and influence which is going to be of the greatest value to the State to which they belong.

It cannot be satisfactory when the younger sons of the landed gentry of a country lag behind in the general progress and fail to take their share in the administration and development of the land in which they have a real stake, and I would plead with the Native States to give scholarships to certain selected boys to be sent to England annually for education for a definite branch of the service within their own Native States. When these young men return to India, after completion of their studies in England, I would suggest that they should be trained for two years in British India under a selected officer of the department for which they have been educated, and they should not be trained unless they have qualified in England by passing the usual examinations. In addition to this, if the Government of India would also reserve a certain number of appointments in the Public Works Department, the Forests, State Railways, Indian Civil Service, etc., for men domiciled in Native States it would be possible to send boys home from Native States to compete for these appointments.

It is futile in India to ignore the ruling classes, and to apply out and out democratic ideals to this country. The

younger sons of the nobles and landed gentry living in the Native States belong to the ruling classes of the country. They should be encouraged to take service with the Indian Government, which will benefit by obtaining a desirable class of native gentleman in the higher grades of the public services, while the indirect benefit to the Native States will be immense. Certainly from my knowledge of Rajputana, which contains the Native State elements with which I am best acquainted, there are numbers of younger sons—gentlemen in every sense of the word—who would be an acquisition to the services in British India. These young men under present conditions have no ambitions in life because they have nothing to look to. Will the Government of India be far-sighted enough to see the danger which besets this class—a danger of extinction if the necessary stimulus is not given? A well-known and very experienced official of the Educational Service in India remarked to me a few years ago that he had long looked upon the ruling class of Rajputana as decadent. Personally, I think his view too gloomy, and that what is needed is a stimulus; but I am convinced that they will become decadent if this stimulus is not applied in the very near future. Before British rule was established in the land this race lived in a perpetual condition of warfare. War was the breath of their nostrils, and the stories of Rajput heroism and chivalry are well known. But with the establishment of peace their occupation has gone. Having survived the dangers of war, are they to succumb to the far more insidious dangers of peace, and die out for the sheer lack of something to do?

In the words, then, of Dewan, these men should be given “a good fighting chance.” As he says, they form the best class of Indian for the public services of India, and their “status is such that they already possess the prestige of being of the ruling classes”; but what is more than this, they inherit the traditions which enable them instinctively to rule. Every encouragement should be given, therefore, to this deserving class.

It is true that many Native States have made great strides towards efficiency ; but under their present system it is possible for any advance to be wrecked within the lifetime of one ruler only, and there would be no body of educated public opinion amongst the leading families of the State to act as a brake on the process of going down hill. Educate and employ the younger sons of these families and you will create a valuable body of public opinion, amongst the most influential families, which cannot but have a wholesome influence.

During the recent Delhi Durbar, H.M. the King said to the Indian peoples, "I leave you a legacy of hope," and we may be sure that these gracious words were not intended for the peoples of British India alone.

Yours faithfully,

ELEVO.

"INDIA AFTER THE WAR"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIANIC REVIEW"

SIR,-

May I request your kind permission to correct a few errors which appeared in an article of mine, "India after the War," as published in your last issue?

On pp. 416 and 417 instead of—

" . . . Indians have no grievance of their own against Germany, a country which, like France and England, has treated them with kindness and regard, and whose scholars, moreover, have shown quite as much appreciation of ancient Indian culture as any others in Europe"—

Read :

" . . . Indians have no grievance of their own against Germany, a country which has treated them with kindness and regard, whose scholars, moreover, have shown at least as much appreciation of ancient Indian culture as any in Europe."

On p. 149 instead of—

“ . . . For protection the Indian people is dependent, not on its own efforts, but exclusively on the Government”—

Read:

“ . . . For protection the Indian people is dependent, not on its own efforts, but on a Government in which it has no voice.”

On p. 421 instead of—

“ . . . Canada . . . or Australia . . . both self-governing dominions with full legal powers to manage their own affairs”—

Read:

“ . . . Canada . . . or Australia . . . both self-governing dominions with full legal powers to manage, or mismanage, their own affairs.”

The two words omitted in the last passage are an indispensable introduction to the argument which follows—a contention that it is unfair to deprive any country of the right of learning through experience, since a certain measure of blundering is an inevitable condition of political development.

It is not worth while to mention in detail one or two printer's mistakes which would have been corrected had time permitted of my having a proof.

Believe me, yours very truly,

E. AGNES R. HAIGH.

“THE GODS OF THE HINDUS”

TO THE EDITOR OF THE “ASIATIC REVIEW”

DEAR SIR,

With reference to one of the jests which enlivened the discussion on Mr. Leslie Moore's lecture on “The Gods of the Hindus,” I wish, as a student of Hindustáni, to protest against the notion that any Hindustáni-speaking man of ordinary intelligence, in applying the epithet

"ásmání" to the object of his worship, would for a moment connect with it the meaning it has (in a *Dyer's* vocabulary) of "sky-blue," or that the word for "heavens" in Hindustání is "sky-blue."

It is true that the word "ásmán" in Hindustání means both "heaven" and "sky"; but it does not mean either because its *derivative* "ásmání" *may* mean "sky-blue," any more than "piyáz" means an "onion," because "piyází" means "onion-colour"; or "dhán" "growing rice," because "dhání" means "bright green"; or "káh" "hay," because "káhi" means a "greyish-green"; or "sardá" a "Kabulí melon," because "sarda-i" means "greenish-yellow," etc. The list of similar names for the various tints and shades of colour is very extensive, and indeed practically unlimited. The popular word "khákí," from "khák" (dust), which is the antithesis of "ásmán" in its moral or religious sense, just as "zamin" (the earth) is in its material sense, is another example: "Ci nisbat khák rá há 'álam e pák?" But in all of them the substantive "rang"—i.e., "colour" or "dye"—is implied, if not mentioned. The English word "heaven," in its religious usage, denotes a region which is beyond the reach of our senses. As Dickens has said, "There is one broad sky over all the world, and, whether it be blue or cloudy, the same heaven *beyond* it." What is *beyond* the sky is necessarily unseen; but "heaven" or "heavens" may be used (in the sense of sky) of that which is plainly visible—as, for instance, in the first verse of Psalm xix. Such, also, is the case with the word "ásmán." Girdhári Rai uses it in speaking of a snowstorm which fell from heaven on a certain village, and so frightened the inhabitants that they all fled away, leaving in the lurch one blind man and one cripple. But metaphorically the same expression is used of the high-flown utterances of a poet, "So beautiful are they in thought as well as form, that they must surely have *dropped from heaven*" ("ásmán se utre honge"). The words "ásmání zabán" (heavenly tongue) are used to interpret the Hindí expression "Deo-

báni" (language of the gods), applied to the Sanskrit language ; "ásmání farmání" (heavenly decreeing) is said by Mr. Platts to have been a stock-phrase used in the saving clause of all old leases and such-like agreements for the "Act of God," for which neither party to the covenant could be held responsible. Finally, the term "ásmání kitáben" (*i.g.*, Holy Scriptures), used by Musalmáns, includes not only the Qur-án, but the Psalms (Zabúr), the Pentateuch (Taurát), and the New Testament (Anjíl).

Believe me to be,

Yours very faithfully,

G. E. WARD.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE following resolution was passed by Council of India at their meeting of November 17, 1914 :

“ The Council of India desire to record their sense of the loss that India and the Empire at large have sustained by the death in France, while visiting the Indian Expeditionary Force, of Field Marshal Lord Roberts, to express their admiration of his life, his character, and his pre-eminent public services, and to offer their respectful sympathy to his widow and his family in their great bereavement.”

“ The King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Nicholas Dodd Beatson-Bell, C.I.E., to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal, in succession to Sir F. W. Duke, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., who has been appointed a Member of the Council of India.

The Secretary of State for India has received a report from the General in command of the force operating on the Shatt-el-Arab (Persian Gulf), stating that an advance was made on November 17 for nine miles up the right bank of the river ; our troops encountered a force of about 4,500 of the enemy in a strong entrenched position with twelve guns, and after overcoming a determined resistance and turning his left flank, carried the entrenchments. The enemy retired, losing two guns and many prisoners,

including three officers, and his camp containing his animal transport and reserve ammunition was captured. Our advance over open level plain, affording no cover, necessarily caused heavy losses ; rapid movement of men and horses was impossible, owing to state of ground after heavy rain. Our casualties were : killed, officers three, rank and file about thirty-five ; wounded, officers about fifteen, rank and file about three hundred. Troops behaved splendidly, and are proud of their success ; medical officers did splendidly under heavy fire.

The Secretary of State for India communicates the following regarding the military operations at the head of the Persian Gulf and in East Africa :

The recent operations in the Persian Gulf have been crowned with even greater and more rapid success than was anticipated. After the signal defeat inflicted upon the Turkish forces on the 15th and 17th, the latter, abandoning all further resistance here, fled, leaving eight guns and many wounded in our hands. The Walis of Basrah and Bagdad accompanied the defeated Turkish forces in their flight up the Tigris. Basrah was occupied on 21st instant by both our naval and land forces. All the British in Basrah are reported safe.

As regards East Africa, it appears from the latest information to hand that, as an important German railway terminus was reported to be weakly held, a force was sent from British East Africa to seize it. On the evening of November 2, one and a half battalions were landed within two miles of the place, and at once advanced. This small force became heavily engaged just outside the town, but as the enemy were in much superior strength, it was compelled to fall back and await reinforcements. At 11 a.m. on the 4th the attack was renewed. When within 800 yards of the position the troops engaged came under very heavy fire. On the left flank, in spite of heavy casualties, the

101st Grenadiers actually entered the town and crossed bayonets with the enemy. The North Lancashire Regiment and Kashmir Rifles on the right pushed on in support under very heavy fire and also reached the town, but found themselves opposed by tiers of fire from the houses, and were eventually compelled to fall back to cover 500 yards from enemy's position.

The losses were so heavy and the position so strong that it was considered useless to renew the attack, and the force re-embarked and returned to its base to prepare for future operations. From recent reports just received the total casualties in this unsuccessful operation were 795, including 141 British officers and men. The wounded are mostly doing well, and many are convalescent. The above casualties were included in the statement recently made by Lord Crewe in the House of Lords.

The Secretary of State for India has received reports from General Barrett, in command of the forces operating at the head of the Persian Gulf, and Sir P. Cox, the Political Officer accompanying the troops, to the following effect :

On the morning of November 23 a ceremonial march was made by the troops through the streets of Basrah to a central point at which the notables of the town were assembled, and the Union Jack was hoisted on the prominent buildings ; naval salutes were fired, the troops presented arms, and gave three cheers for the King-Emperor ; a suitable proclamation was issued and received with acclamation by the inhabitants.

The remnants of the Turkish forces* which were at Basrah have evaporated, leaving their guns and rifles. Zobeir, which had been held by the Turks, has submitted.

All the Europeans at Basrah have been found safe and well, and we have received fresh news of the safety of those who are at Bagdad.

It is estimated by British merchants at Basrah that the Turkish wounded brought in after the action of November 17 numbered 2,000. The Arab soldiery who were recently mobilized by the Turks were left behind when the latter fled from Basrah, and many of them, before going to their homes, discarded their arms and uniforms and resumed their civil dress. It is reported that they are very dissatisfied with the manner in which they were treated by the Turks.

The Secretary of State for India communicates the following regarding the progress of the Indian Expeditionary Force to the Persian Gulf.

"A reconnaissance of the enemy's position at Kurnah was made on the 5th instant by Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer with the 110th Mahrattas. The enemy were encountered on the left bank of the Tigris opposite Kurnah. They were promptly attacked and driven across the river, losing heavily; 2 guns and 70 prisoners, including 3 Turkish officers, were captured. Kurnah was found to be strongly held by guns and infantry, and our troops having no means of crossing the Tigris withdrew to their original bivouac four miles south of Kurnah. Great assistance was given by the Navy from armed steamers which accompanied the reconnaissance. Our casualties were 1 British officer and 3 British rank and file wounded, 1 Indian officer and 19 rank and file killed, and about 60 wounded. Steamers *Miner* and *Lawrence* were hit by shells. On the following day reinforcements were sent from Basra, under Brigadier-General Fry, by steamers and flats. On his arrival he reported the Turks in occupation of Masera, on the left bank of the Tigris, immediately opposite Kurnah. They attacked his outposts, but were repulsed with some loss. On the 7th instant General Fry captured Masera and cleared the left bank of the Tigris, bivouacking on the captured position. In this affair 3 guns were taken and 2 disabled, as well as 100 prisoners, including 3 officers.

On the 8th the 104th Rifles and 110th Mahrattas, and 2 mountain guns crossed the Tigris by a flying bridge and dhows, and occupied the northern approaches of Kurnah, and on the early morning of yesterday, December 9, Subhi Bey, the late Governor of Basra and commanding the Turkish forces at Kurnah, surrendered unconditionally with his troops. The town of Kurna was subsequently occupied. Our casualties during the whole of these operations amounted to 1 British officer killed and 3 wounded, about 40 Indian rank and file killed, and 120 wounded.

"This smart little affair has given us complete control of the country from the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates to the sea, and the richest part of the fertile delta."

INDIAN STATE RAILWAYS.

The Secretary of State for India in Council has, subject to the usual conditions, appointed the five undermentioned gentlemen to be Assistant Traffic Superintendents on Indian State Railways:

Cruttwell, R. Q.

Dean, V. L.

Harrison, D. H.

Proudlock, R.

Sims, E. A.

The Secretary of State for India has made the following appointments to the Indian Educational Service:

Mr. Percy Oddie Whitlock, B.A. (Cantab.), to be Professor of English at the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack; and

Mr. Alexander Robert Burnett-Hurst, B.Sc. Honours (London), to be Professor of Economics at the Muir Central College, Allahabad.

The Secretary of State for India communicates that on the capture of Kurna, reported yesterday, 1,100 prisoners, exclusive of wounded, and nine guns fell into our hands. The late Vali of Basra only surrendered after a plucky resistance.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

1. POLITICAL AND LITERARY ESSAYS. Second Series. By the Earl of Cromer. (London: *Macmillan and Co.* 1914.)

There is always a special interest felt in the literary recreations of men who have made a name in the practical administration of affairs. It is always instructive to read the judgments on history of those who have helped to make history; and their criticisms of literature gain much by the many sidelights which are the results of actual participation in the business of government. For these reasons the essays which Lord Cromer has reprinted in this volume are bound to arouse considerable attention. They consist mostly of short reviews which originally appeared in various periodicals in 1913 and the early months of 1914. They are grouped under the following headings: English Biography; France; Germany; Italy; India; Egypt and the East; Current Politics; Miscellaneous. All display a wide knowledge of literature both English and foreign, and are full of interesting and suggestive observations. It would be quite impossible to deal with all these essays in a short notice; nearly every one alone would furnish the text of a review; but at the present time our attention is arrested by those dealing with Germany, and those which discuss the views of certain so-called "pacificists." Lord Cromer has too much experience as an administrator to favour the fantastic delusion, which possessed some English statesmen not so long ago, that the best way to preserve the peace of Europe was to reduce the English navy and army to vanishing point. He "cannot forget that when the Fashoda incident occurred, the predominant strength of the British navy was one of the main factors which obviated the calamity of a war between France and England" (p. 291). He affirms with truth that there is not a sane Englishman of any class of society who does not recognize that the greatest of British interests is peace. He perceived (in March, 1914) that German militarism was the one disturbing element in Europe, and saw clearly that "it would, so long as the present phase lasts, be little short of madness for a nation which has so much to lose as England to expose itself to the risks involved in adopting a policy of blind security based on the toleration and continuous friendship

of other nations stronger than itself" (p. 284). The experience of twenty five stormy years in Egypt had taught this great Proconsul that war could not be abolished by the *a priori* arguments of Mr. Norman Angell or the insincere platitudes emitted by interested diplomats at Hague conferences. "Until the process of conversion has made considerably more progress than is at present the case, it will be as well, in deciding whether armaments can or cannot be reduced, for Englishmen to remember that there is much worldly wisdom and a good deal of sound political philosophy in Alphonse Karr's classical comment on the proposal to abolish capital punishment: 'Que messieurs les assassins commencent'" (p. 291). In a thoughtful essay on Prince Bülow's "Imperial Germany" (written in February, 1914) Lord Cromer shows a full appreciation of phenomena which were at that time hidden from many of his countrymen. "It is . . . abundantly clear that whenever any German interest is involved no moral obstacles will be allowed to stand in the way of furthering German views by all the resources of a diplomacy which is not overscrupulous, supported by prodigious force in the background" (p. 150). And, "Not only is it a fact that an extreme school of German militarists maintains that even an unnecessary war is from time to time desirable to strengthen the virility of the nation, not only does militarism of one type or another reign supreme, and is supported by a strong and learned body of civilian opinion, but also the principle is recognized that war can and ought to be made on some foreign Power, not by reason of any special cause of grievance, which it may have occasioned, but to attain some object connected with internal policy" (p. 156). These views are now familiar enough to a large number of Englishmen from the works of Bernhardt and Professor Cramb. It is to the credit of Lord Cromer that he apprehended them and gave them expression at a time when many of his countrymen were being cajoled into security by the honeyed utterances of German burgomasters or labour leaders, and when even responsible politicians seemed more set upon securing immediate party advantages than desecrating national dangers. And even he did not realize the full extent of the peril. He was not alone in "believing that the German navy has been created not for aggressive purposes, but 'as a means of national defence, and to strengthen our (German) national safety'" (p. 153); and by no means alone when "he ventures to hazard a conjecture that the principal preoccupation of the leading War Lord of Europe is not how he can best stimulate, but how he can most effectively control, the bellicose spirit of his subjects" (p. 289). But this is only to say that a man cannot foresee everything, and it was no small merit at such a time to have seen clearly that "if we wish our voice to be heard in the councils of armed Europe, we also must be armed" (p. 332). We have read these essays with much pleasure. In a period when the course of politics seems to grow more and more sordid, and politicians more and more self-seeking, it is a refreshment to the soul to read the views of this *vir pietate gravis* who after a long life spent in magnificent service to the Empire, and having no end to gain and no party to serve, and seeking nothing for himself, was far-seeing enough to observe and bold enough to tell his countrymen, with all the weight of his ripe

experience, the dangers he foresaw and the measures he recommended. Such men as Lord Cromer are the great possession of the Empire whose splendour they have enhanced by their self-sacrificing toils. It is with deep regret that we read in Lord Cromer's preface the pathetic words, "Since last Easter I have been prevented by ill-health from writing anything." May he be soon restored to health and further service to his country!

W. W. CANNON.

2. *DIVIDED WAYS.* By E. Charles Vivian. (London: *Holden and Hardingham.*) Price 6s.

The "Foreword to the One that Watched," "Divided Ways," seems rather superfluous, but perhaps the people who go in for watching such not uncommon dramas rather fancy being ushered to their seats with ceremony, and being told in advance something explicit and yet highly fateful about the moral of the performance. They probably haven't read "The Cenci," but the bit out of Shelley's preface to it does very well for them as a nice programme quotation.

"The fire that burns to ashes," as the Foreword tells us, "in the course of this book," was laid by Alan Hope out in Mbatonga, where for twelve years he lived a careless, "sun-soaked" life, seeing after the tropical end of his uncle's African business. It hadn't, of course, been laid properly -- the tropics do not make for carefulness and foresight in these things -- and when Alan was called back, on the death of his uncle, to take over the London management of the firm, he realized, not only that the domestic hearth he had chosen out there was small, but that the original flame of love for Nina, his young wife acquired from the Mbatonga mission-field, had gone out!

London is a cold place where men cannot live without fires; where, too, there are always old flames awaiting fanning. And so Alan Hope and Mary North (the girl who, two years back, realizing from Alan's letters that absence had weakened her hold on him, had written telling him she had ceased to care) relit together an all-devouring blaze, starting one stolen afternoon on Hampstead Heath. But the stealth of it doomed their passion to sterility, and so they had to go divided ways rather than let the blaze decline and die to white ashes.

There is a good deal of realistic subsidiary incident, including a more forcible than inviting picture of commercial adventure in the tropics. One or two of the characters have curious physical traits, notably Hobson's habit of clawing the air and Auntie Liss's way of swinging, when troubled like a pendulum. The psychology of this lady is also baffling, and there are other inscrutable characters.

3. *THE CITY OF DANCING DERVISHES, AND OTHER SKETCHES AND STUDIES FROM THE NEAR EAST.* By Harry Charles Lukach. 257 pp. Illustrated. (London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*) Price 7s. 6d. net.

The imprint of Macmillan is one that gives a reviewer joy, and in the present case the pleasure is greater, for the book is one which will come

down from the shelves at some later time to be read again. The essays ten in number, which it contains have been published before in leading dailies and in serious reviews, and their reappearance in collected form is indeed as welcome as it is timely, for the writer depicts with a deep and accurate knowledge some of the characteristics of the Turkish nation. His sympathetic regard for the Turk of the old school, for the Turkish countryman, is genuine, and at the present juncture, when the *jeune* Turk element has thrown in his lot with Germany, heedless of the suicidal effect of the move, it is interesting to quote the author's statements: "The extent to which the decay of that Empire is attributable—to decay of faith among certain classes of the Turks—is not easy to define with precision, but it is considerable. There is no truer saying in Turkey than the proverb, *Balıg bashedan gogar*, which means 'Fish stinks first at the head'"; and "For his influence with foreign Moslems the Khalif's greatest asset is his possession of Mecca, where all Moslem peoples foregather. In Egypt the influence of the Khalif, who is nominally the political suzerain, is appreciable; in India, Afghanistan, and the Central Asian Khanates it is potential rather than ascertained . . . As regards tropical Africa, where annually large numbers of men turn . . . to the acceptance of Islam two tendencies are at work. In the region where conversions are due to the efforts of Sanusi missionaries, . . . no accession of authority to the Khalifate is possible. This is not the case, however, in districts affected by orthodox Suni propaganda."

There is much in this small book: An historical essay on the Turkish Khalifate; a sketch of Kiamil Pasha; a witty sketch of priests and patriarchs; a chapter teeming with the *sotties* and *moralities* of that amusing wight the Khoja Nasr-ed-din of Aqshehir (with a copious bibliography to help satisfy a whetted appetite); a study of Islam in Turkey, the careful perusal of which may be commended to many narrow-minded Christians; a true story of a true miracle of St. Andrew in the year 1912; a history of the false messiah of Smyrna (1666), etc. And all through the 257 pages there is not a dull line; scholarship is felt, imparted with skill and never-failing humour.—J.

4. THE INDIAN MUSEUM, 1814-1914. (Calcutta: *Published by the Trustees.*)

This well-produced illustrated volume of xi + 136 + lxxxviii pages has been published to commemorate the centenary of the foundation of the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The inception from which it originated dates in fact from an invitation made in 1796 by the Asiatic Society for specimens and curiosities to be sent to a suitably fitted house. The latter materialized in 1808, and in 1814 Dr. Nathan Wallish, a Danish botanist, contributed the nucleus of the present extensive collection gathered in the face of considerable difficulties, until in 1875 all the collections ceased to be the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the museum became an Imperial Institution. Eleven chapters written by the heads of the various departments unfold the tale of development of the museum in

its several sections: archæology, anthropology, art and industry, natural history, and marine survey. The usefulness of the institution is best indicated by the number of visitors aggregating 816,115 during the year ending March 31, 1914, when the galleries were opened during 233 days, with a daily average of 3,502 visitors.

It is much to be hoped that descriptive catalogues of the archæological sections will some day be at hand, particularly as Anderson's work is now out of print, and because good illustrations from photographs would be of considerable interest and value to the students of Indian archæology.

5. ON THE TRAIL OF THE OPIUM POPPY. By Sir Alexander Hosie.

Two vols. Pp. viii + 300 + 308. With 39 illustrations and 2 maps. (London: *George Philip and Sons, Ltd.*) Price 25s. net.

The procrastinating absence of the representative of China when the Lhasa Convention was signed in September, 1904, brought forth an unexpected fruit. A special convention between England and China in relation to Tibet had to be entered into, and a Chinese commissioner to Tibet was sent to Calcutta to discuss its terms. During his visit he gathered from members of the Government of India that the trade in opium was kept up, not out of a desire on the part of the English traders to grow rich out of China's curse, but because of the Chinese craving for the drug. On his return home, T'ang Shao-Yi, supported by Yüan Shi K'ai, memorialized the dragon throne, and on September 20, 1906, an Imperial decree prohibited the cultivation of the opium poppy, the sale and the consumption of opium throughout the middle kingdom, on the understanding that the supply from India should be decreased at the rate of 10 per cent. yearly from 1908 to 1911, and thereafter at the same rate if the Chinese Government kept up the prohibition with a steady hand. It became, therefore, necessary to inspect the opium-growing provinces of China so as to check the reports sent to the British Government by local missionaries, whose assistance had been enlisted in 1909-10. None better than Sir Alexander Hosie could have undertaken such a tour of inspection. His long residence of thirty-five years in China, his thorough acquaintance with Chinese ways, his earlier travels in those provinces (in 1882) led to the mission being entrusted to him in April, 1910, whilst he was in England on furlough.

The trip—in a sedan chair and on foot—in the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Szechuan, Yunnan, Kweichow was, needless to say, fraught with discomfort and hardships. To travel on a narrow slippery path on the side of a cliff, with a sheer drop on the offside, to count poppy fields and fractions of fields, to wrangle with the intricacies of money exchange, and, when drenched with rain and covered with yellow dust, to find one's bedroom the abode of chickens, fleas, bugs, etc., whilst through every crack of the ceiling a mob watches one's every move—all these are peculiarities of a Chinese inland trip. Yet in the face of it all the author keeps a cheerful tone, and his pages are, like consular reports, packed with facts and much detail; but, unlike the official publication, they are wholly human, and spiced with live thumbnail sketches of Chinese nature, unsophisticated and otherwise, besides interesting descriptions of trade and

workmen's methods. In two appendices are given the opium laws and the official record of the trip, concluding that a notable reduction had been made in the cultivation of poppy; but unfortunately the revolution of October, 1911, has made it difficult for the provincial government to prevent the people from reverting to a highly profitable occupation. The book is completed by a copious index. We fancy only one misprint will be found in it. In vol. ii., p. 48, Tls. 6.0 should read Tls. 0.6. The author has adopted the curious spelling *padi* fields instead of the more frequently used paddy, and we cannot help wondering how it is that seeds of lucerne (*Medicago sativa*) should have been imported from China into Canada, South Africa, and Great Britain by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. Lucerne is one of the commonest of fodder plants in France, where seeds can be bought from any agricultural seed-shop. Surely the Board could have saved somewhat on the cost of carriage of that half-ton which was bought in 1912! Water chestnuts are mentioned with the identification *scirpus tuberosus*, surely *Trapa bicornis* (*L. Halaracæ*) is the usual name of the *ling* (see Hanbury on Chinese Materia Medica in Science Papers, 1876, p. 241).

The author has introduced some interesting corrections in the botanical nomenclature of certain Chinese fibres, and his promised work on the subject will be welcome, as much, in fact, as his timely criticism of certain maps of China (to which might have been added a wish for the reduction in size of the red crosses which render them so hard to read). The illustrations are good, though a few are rather small, and the maps extremely clear.—H. L. J.

6. MORE TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA. (London: *The East India Association*.)

Price 6d. net; in India 8 annas, post free.

The East India Association have followed their valuable reprint "Truths about India" with a further issue of the leaflets of 1913-1914, under the title of "More Truths about India," with a short but admirable preface by Lord Reay.

There are seven articles altogether, packed full of valuable information on such varied subjects as: "The Indian Trade Report for 1912-1913"; "The Indo-Ceylon Connection"; "The Land Cess in Italy and India"; "Irrigation in India"; etc.

It is difficult to pick out any for special notice, but perhaps the most significant, from an Imperial point of view, is taken from the *National Review* for March, 1914, and deals with the "Status of Indians in the Empire."

This difficult problem will undoubtedly face us with a far louder insistence, a greatly strengthened determination, directly the war is over, and will certainly "tax to the utmost the resources of British statesmanship."—H. M. H.

We may add to this review the following characteristic note which appeared in the weekly periodical *India*, on December 18, together with the correspondence which followed:

"The East India Association have, under the title of 'More Truths about India,' issued a further series of leaflets in pamphlet form (price 6d. net). This time there is nothing to which objection can be taken in the foreword, which is contributed by Lord Reay. The first leaflet gives extracts from an article on the Indian Trade Report for 1912-13, which was written by Sir Henry Cotton for *India*, and was published in our issue of October 10, 1913, and the 'independent and disinterested' attitude assumed by the compilers is illustrated by the wholly gratuitous manner in which they allude to the writer as one 'who is not likely to be favourably disposed to the existing system.' The whole pamphlet, like its predecessor, is, in fact, an ingenious mosaic in which everything that is good is pieced together, and everything that is the opposite is carefully omitted. To those who care for rose-coloured spectacles the book will no doubt make a very special appeal."

Mr. Pennington then wrote :

TO THE EDITOR OF "INDIA."

December 15, 1914.

SIR,

Your criticism of "More Truths about India" is, on the whole, so reasonable (from your point of view) that I should not have thought it necessary to say a word in our defence had it not been for the omission of one small but most important word in your quotation from the introduction to the chapter by Sir Henry Cotton. The actual words used in speaking of him were—"who is not likely to be *too* favourably disposed to the 'existing system.'"

The omission of the little word "too" makes, to my mind, a considerable difference, and I certainly could not have written the sentence as you print it.

It is surely not unfair to describe our friend Sir Henry as a fairly severe critic of the existing bureaucracy, and it was for that reason that we welcomed his very fair *résumé*.

I will only just add that the appearance of one-sided attitude on which you comment adversely is inevitable, seeing we are striving to correct misleading statements, and you must remember that we do not profess to be telling the *whole* "Truth about India"—an almost impossible undertaking.

What we hope we are doing is to set forth a few fragments of what we believe to be facts, which we invite you to contradict whenever you think we are in error.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

There followed this note in the next issue of *India*

"Mr. J. B. Pennington writes, with reference to our notice last week of the pamphlet 'More Truths about India,' which has been published by the East India Association, that our criticism is, on the whole, so reasonable, 'from our point of view,' that he would not have thought it necessary to say a word in his defence had it not been for the omission of one small but most important word in our quotation from the introduction to the chapter

by Sir Henry Cotton. The actual words used in speaking of him were—'who is not likely to be *too* favourably disposed to the existing system.' The omission of the little word 'too' makes, to his mind, a considerable difference, and he assures us that he 'certainly could not have written the sentence as you print it.'"

7. BIRDS OF THE INDIAN HILLS. By Douglas Dewar. (*John Lane*.)
Price 6s. net.

Mr. Dewar has added to his "Birds of the Plains" and other Indian bird books another volume on the "Birds of the Indian Hills." It is divided into three sections: Birds of the Himalayas: The Common Birds of the Nilgiris; The Common Birds of the Palni Hills. Starting with a short but graphic chapter on the Habitat of Himalayan Birds, Mr. Dewar proceeds to classify the birds commonly seen in the different hill countries according to their families, and gives a short, accurate description of each variety, while some deserving of special notice, such as "Black Bulbuls," and "The Pekin Robin," he honours with a special essay. Writing for the ordinary lover of Nature, he avoids technicalities, and is moved to apologize for some of the scientific names, for, as he says, "the average ornithologist is never happy unless he be either saddling a small bird with a big name or altering the denomination of some unfortunate fowl." Discussing scientific theories and their promoters, Mr. Dewar cites certain cases of mimicry—the goshawk and the oriole for example—where neither species can derive any possible advantage from their resemblance; and he has some justifiably caustic remarks on the "cabinet zoologist" who, instead of patiently observing and recording the many apparent inconsequences of nature, arbitrarily "lays down the law to people who know nothing of law" within the narrow confines of his own pet theory. "The only scientific men who, as a class, are characterized by humility are the meteorologists. I always feel sorry for the meteorologist. He has to predict the weather, and every man is able to test the value of these predictions."

The book is furnished with a useful appendix, giving the vernacular names of the birds mentioned, and is a very useful, compact little volume.—H. M. H.

8. GREECE OF THE HELLENES. By Lucy M. J. Garrett. (London: *Pitman and Sons*. 1914.) 6s. net.

Those who have read the author's "Turkey of the Ottoman" know what to expect in this other book of the same valuable series: a readable, conscientious, well-informed account of Greece and the Greek people.

They have nearly always been subjected to the two extremes of criticism. The one class, numbering many Germans, seeks to prove that the modern inhabitants have no connection ethnologically with classical Greece, stigmatize them as "Levartines," and cast a slur on their business methods and military prowess which they based on the unfortunate experience of 1897, forgetting their previous and subsequent achievements.

Others regarded them as a magical people, endowed with superhuman

virtues, living in the shadow of the Necropolis, and gazing aye on unconquered Salamis. The annual "outing" of public-school masters to those shores, with quotations from Euripides and Byron on their lips, seemed to lend colour to this view. Less-favoured individuals followed, failed to recognize it as an Elysium, and joined the other extreme.

The Anglo-Hellenic League in London has done much to spread a sane view about our Greek friends, and bring about closer relations between this country and "the British Isles of the Near East." The above volume should do much in the same direction. It is devoid of that extravaganza in praise or blame which has characterized so many books on this subject. The first chapter shows that modern Greece is inhabited by a mixture of several men, which indeed her mediæval and modern history has led us to expect, and includes even a Bavarian colony, founded by King Otho in 1837. In her chapter on Government she does not appear to have taken sufficient account of the growing power of the Socialists. The sketch of Greek literature and art is excellent, and illustrates the omnivorence of the reading public, which they seem to share with Indians.

Mention is made of the excellent work done since 1897 by the "Union of Hellenic Women," which should especially commend itself to our notice in the present crisis.

Also, we cannot refrain from quoting in "Home Life and Women's Work": ". . . a father will consequently make it his first duty to save a dot for his daughter or daughters, and brothers, in a father's place, are required by custom to see their sisters satisfactorily settled in life before taking wives themselves. . . . Fatherless youths of the humbler class will consequently be found putting by every penny they can save from their wages to that—from the Greek point of view—praiseworthy end, often remaining single themselves till middle age should they have not been able in the meantime to marry off their sisters."

Such brotherly self-sacrifice is almost unthinkable in Western Europe. But what may not the much-talked-of regeneration after this war bring?

9. THE HISTORICAL RECORD OF THE IMPERIAL VISIT TO INDIA, 1911.

Published for the Government of India by John Murray, 1914.

With 9 coloured and 157 other illustrations, illuminated head and tail pieces, appendices, index, and four plans. 10s. 6d. net.

This handsome volume, "compiled from the Official Records, under the orders of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India," gives, in 280 pages, an excellent account of King George's visit to his great dependency in Asia, and it wears its official garb conspicuously but well; in other words, it is eminently readable. It pretends to be nothing more than a record of certain historic events, but it tells them picturesquely, while it is free from the blemishes which would have inevitably resulted from giving the work to an ordinary writer or journalist.

Notable are the words on p. 15 in that excellent opening chapter entitled "A Retrospect." After reminding us that never had a King of England journeyed so far from his accustomed sphere, and that never yet

had any monarch come on a peaceful errand of goodwill and favour, it proceeds :

“It was not to be wondered at that such a novel departure aroused the gravest fears and doubts among His Majesty’s counsellors and friends, or that many of them should have thought the experiment a highly dangerous one, not only by reason of the prolonged absence of the Sovereign from England at a time when the political horizon was by no means clear, but also because the internal condition of India had been recently disturbed. Nor were these the only troubles, for the journey between England and India in the winter of 1911-12 involved passing through seas where two great nations were engaged in armed conflict, and the failure of the normal rains in India made it appear at one time that, even if the Emperor did come, it would be to a land of distress that could not honour the occasion. Well might he have been discouraged, yet he never wavered in his purpose, for the undertaking was a labour of love, the offspring of a deep and genuine affection for India and all that it contained.

“‘Private wish and public duty made his path serene and clear.’

“No statesman of modern times was better qualified than His Majesty to form the decision that he did, for no one else possessed the complete experience of the whole British Empire that he and the Queen-Emress had gained in the course of world-wide tours. Not even among the officials with a lifelong knowledge of India was there a single one who had travelled in the country so extensively and intensively as they ; and in Lord Hardinge, the new Viceroy, the King-Emperor had the advantage of a deputy who had been the close friend and trusted servant of his father.”

The seed of goodwill which was then sown by the foresight of our King has now borne fruit at the hour of the nation’s trial, and the enthusiasm of India then is reflected by the enthusiasm of her whole people now.

Those who are astonished at, or seek to inquire into, the causes of this loyalty, will find the explanation on every page in almost every line of this work.

10. STUDIES IN ANCIENT HINDU POLITY. By Narendranath Law. (*Longmans.*) 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Law has selected and compiled with great care and trouble a very interesting volume in his “Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity.” The interest of this book, which is based on the Arthasastra of Kautilya, lies mainly in the fact that it throws a new light on the ancient civilization of India of the period of Chandragupta—about the fourth century B.C.

Most students and writers of old Hindu civilization have paid more attention to the philosophical and religious knowledge in which that civilization excelled—and very little research has been made in matters dealing with the practical government and material prosperity of the Indian Empire of that time—thereby giving rise to a widespread misconception that the ancient Hindus, in pursuing their search for the higher truths and knowledge of spiritual life, failed absolutely in the spheres of practical action ; in fact, the idea is prevalent that they were philosophers and dreamers rather than workers.

The Arthasastra (which literally translated means the science and rules of practical government) is a unique record of the details of the municipal and political government of the period. Rules and regulations, with great minuteness, are laid down for various activities concerning the material prosperity of the people—such as mining, irrigation, meteorology; care of livestock, cattle, horses, elephants; control and care of roads, both land and waterways, for trade facilities and communications with the most distant parts of the Indian Empire—an empire which at that time extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, embracing the whole of Northern India.

We also learn that problems of sanitation and hygiene, Poor Law relief, pensions, adequate provisions for the old and infirm, occupied the attention of the Government of those days as even now, and that an elaborate system of census records was carried on.

The last three chapters are devoted to a general enumeration of the methods of justice and broadly outlining the laws, principally the civil laws.

A very interesting preface is furnished by Mr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, who proves without doubt that the Arthasastra was the genuine work of Kautilya or Chanakya, the famous minister of Chandragupta.

Mr. Law gives copious notes and quotations to verify his assertions, and any student of the culture of ancient Hindu civilization will be well repaid by a perusal of the book.

LILA SINGH.

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11. HISTORICAL ATLAS OF INDIA. For the use of High Schools, Colleges, and Private Students. By Charles Joppen, S.J. New edition. (*Longmans, Green and Co.*) 3s. 6d. net.

The purpose of this atlas is to provide a general conspectus of Indian history. Accordingly only places of primary importance are marked in the maps to prevent overcrowding. There are thirty-three maps in all, and each is provided at the beginning with explanatory text. They show up admirably the early vicissitudes of Indian history and its gradual control by the British; also they remind us of the considerable area of the Native States.

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12. DAK DICTA AND MORE DAK DICTA: A SELECTION FROM VERSES WRITTEN IN CALCUTTA. By Wilmot Corfield. (*Thacker, Spink and Co.*) 2 vols. Price 12s. 6d.

This book comprises a selection from verses written in Calcutta (some of them taken from my weekly review of books in *The Englishman*) above the *nom de plume* "Dak." One which should command especial attention at the present juncture is entitled "Sons of the Flag."

"Sons of the Flag! the war-cone flies—
Sons of our wind-swept Isles afar!
Lo, where the keening vulture cries
His greeting to the gathering war,
The gage is flung, the stroke decreed,
In Freedom's name, at Europe's need!"

In "More Dak Dicta," "Rupert's Raid" calls for special mention

"Fling wide the pane—I hear them call—
The bells are calling, clear and free;
Come closer, children, one and all,
And you, my blue-eyed Dorothy,
Creep closest, dearest, press my cheek—
The bells are there, I hear them speak."

* There are also political and topical verses: "Great Possibilities"—the foreshadowed "Reforms" hinted at in 1907 were spoken of as being possessed of "great possibilities"; "Cackle, Cackle," is apropos of the Suffrage raids at Westminster; "Thrown Out," written just before the General Election of January, 1910; "God Save the King," on the death of King Edward VII.; "Statesmanship," called forth by a statement made by Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.; "What's On," and "The Road through the Wood," written at the time of the Home Rule controversy.

13. SINISTER STREET—VOLUME II. By Compton Mackenzie. (Secker.)
Price 6s.

Mr. Compton Mackenzie repudiates the entitling of *Sinister Street—Volume II.* a sequel, for the reason, we suppose, that a sequel has been generally associated with the idea of a conclusion, with the illusion of the convergence of the threads of a story to a terminus at which the reader can alight, with his interest, if not satisfied, at least definitely conscious of the journey's ending. Mr. Compton Mackenzie is aware of the artificiality of such sequential devices, so much aware that, rather than commit himself to the writing of "twenty volumes as thick as *Sinister Street*," were he to continue the life of Michael Fane to the only ending such a story can ever have, he declares his intention to have been "not to write a life, but the prologue of a life," and he gives as his reason for his stopping where he does (or rather *when*, for in time only, not in place, can breaks in continuity be measured), at the end of Michael's twenty-third year, that "he is growing up on the last page, and for me his interest begins to fade."

An author, of course, has every right to take what limitations he chooses, and we cannot easily express the gratitude we feel to Mr. Compton Mackenzie for taking us thus far. Nevertheless the verdict of "no further" which he announces at the end of this volume is a disappointing one—disappointing in the sense that, though this second volume does, as Mr. Compton Mackenzie anticipates, establish many irrelevancies in the first, it still creates others whose future establishment we are, unfortunately, not to be permitted to see. Also, it must be admitted, it is to some extent because we are disappointed in, and baffled by, Michael himself that our interest in him, unlike the author's, falls very short of fading on the last page. Rome may, at the critical moment when he went there, have made his youth seem parochial, but we feel sure that there were things in Michael that would eventually make Rome, as he then saw it, seem parochial too, and it is hard that we should have to leave him at that first immature attempt at synthesis, involving so much rejection, confessing

so much defeat. Indeed, it seems as if real continuity and that marmoreal quality of fine literature which Michael himself had discerned in *Manon Lescant* had been perversely sacrificed for the sake of an orthodox ending, with its melodramatic "curtain" provided by the verbal profundities of the cloaked stranger. We rebel at this illegitimate theatrical device as, for the same reason, we protest against the lot apportioned to Stella. Both are unimaginative collapses into the commonplace, and Mr. Compton Mackenzie, if he cannot rescue Michael, might at least do something in the way of an epilogue for Stella. Mr. Mackenzie's writing has become more elaborate, a great deal richer, and seldom, we imagine, has one of the most easily remarkable aspects of Oxford undergraduate life been so brilliantly mirrored. Yet its significance nowhere appears profound, and Michael seems frequently to idealize its vacancy where we should have expected him to rebel. He does rebel in the second half of the volume, in that determined adventure through the squalors of the underworld in search of Lily Haden, and then in search of a symbol of service (the presentment of which is again a triumph in itself, for which we render the author unstinted admiration); but a conclusion bringing with it, at twenty-three, confidence that the worst hardships of thought have been left behind seems to us a very perdurable solution.

14. THE RUBY OF RAJASTHAN. By R. E. Forrest, author of "Eight Days," etc. (*East and West, Ltd.*, 3, Victoria Street, S.W.) Price 2s.

The aim of the author is to give an Indian tale where the reader is not only introduced but actually *lives* the Indian life of bygone days. He has weaved his romance around the courtship of the great Sultan Akbar, who reigned from A.D. 1556 to A.D. 1605 of our era, for the widowed daughter of one of the reigning Rajput houses "of purest blood."

This is a situation which is fraught with difficulties, for, in the first place, no Rajput is supposed to "spoil" the lineage of his house by intermarriage with a foreigner, however exalted a rank. And in the second, a widow never remarries, even if she is only a widow in name.

But what can the object of the plot in a novel be if it is not to disentangle a tangled skein. Sultan Akbar, for one, does not come as himself, but as his own emissary. In this Mr. Forrest has reverted to, or rather aptly adapted, a scheme of things dear to the heart of old romancers of the East.

In the second place, as far as the intrigue is concerned, the fact of being a "superman" overrides prejudices in all times and nations. So Sultan Akbar's courtship is crowned with so happy an ending that it would almost besit a fairy tale. There is not a single villainous character in the book, by the way, which speaks for Mr. Forrest's originality as a story-writer. But it is always unfair for a reviewer to reveal the plot of a book. He can only do so in an abortive way, which is an injustice to the author.

The great interest of Mr. Forrest's book lies in the minute exposition he gives of the conditions of Indian life as it was lived by a great chief, corresponding to a medieval lord of our Western World; the inner life of

a fortress castle with its retinue; the hospitality offered to an exalted guest, and so forth.

The description of furniture and the dresses of the ladies are all excellent, and give true local colour without any of the fossilized study which would characterize the literary work of a man who looks upon past and exotic splendour in a dry, scientific way, and loses sight of the main features in his passion for detail. It is all real and alive, and the household of the Rajput Chief might be the country house of an English nobleman of our present day.

Special note should be given to "The Battle of Nadri" (p. 237). A truly vivid and wonderful account is given of war as the Rajput fought it; and it makes the reader realize how little there is of real change in the character of war!

A truly original book of most interesting reading, whether for recreation pure and simple, or more specialized study.—E. A.

15. THE SECOND BLOOMING. By W. L. George. (*Unwin*.) 6s. net.

"The more I see of women, the more convinced I am of their trashiness," was the text of a scathing indictment I once heard from a woman of her sex in general. She explained that what she meant by trashiness was mediocrity, the outcome of instability of character. The indictment arose *à propos* of women doing work "in the meanwhiles," throwing it up for marriage, flinging aside that in which previously they had, apparently, been interested. "The fact that they can fling it up," said their critic, "is a sign that it never meant to them what it should mean, that it was never flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone; it had never become part of them, as work, if it is to be the best work, must be. The majority of women," she concluded, "accept without demur the non-conducting aspect of marriage, and that is why at middle life, or perhaps later, married women find themselves stranded, their maternal businesses finished, and, because too old or too long separated from other than family interests, with no more satisfying prospect before them than a passive survey of the lives and interests of their children and grandchildren."

All this, and much more besides, came into my mind as I read the first book of "The Second Blooming." "It's a large family," said Mrs. Westfield. "and the girls will marry." Now they are married: Clara, the eldest, to Sir Henry Govan, baronet and rising parliamentarian; Grace to Edward Kinnersley, barrister, also rising; Mary to the less ambitious, domestic, and ordinary Tom Stanley. Round and round—and round and round—and round and round again—go their lives, furiously, aimlessly, in the case of the two elder; placidly, almost unconsciously, in the case of the youngest. Mr. George's style in this first book is a brilliant reflection of the irrelevancies and desultoriness of the whirling material, so that almost we are seized and physically bewildered by the circular non-conductivity of marriage.

But the pace of it carried with it intimations of unrest. Tangential movement had to come. And it came, to Clara and Grace, earlier than

middle life, because of the restlessness of the times, because of the well-to-do circumstances of their lives (Clara had no children, and Grace's two were sufficiently administered by nurses and governesses), because, too, of both these women's quick apprehension of the negative, impersonal parts they played in their husbands' lives. Sir Henry was as absorbed in his political career as Edward was in his forensic, and each gave no help to solve, indeed was not even aware of, his wife's urgent "Whither?" So Grace more consciously, but Clara none the less vigorously, set out independently to the Junes of their second blooming. Clara found and founded a political league upon which to lavish the energies and aspirations of her starved maturity; Grace, in a more romantic adventure, let herself be found by Enoch Fenor, and in his arms "felt herself—flowering."

Tangential departures from the wedding orbit lead rarely into space. More usually the divorce court, and what the divorce court stands for, arrest their momentum, since that momentum to a great extent is composed of resistance to the marriage tie, freedom from which on yonder side the law makes the freed couple fearfully aware of the frail residuum of that which alone can carry them farther. "Plaisir d'amour ne dure qu'un moment" was the only law which Grace and Fenor recognized. Mr. George very dramatically and very subtly evidences its authority, and would have us see that human nature itself, and not conventional morality, sufficiently circumscribes from space the limits of the tangent. The world which is the world of all of us has laws not codified, but none the less imperative; these are our best policemen, and these, moreover, do not snatch from us our perdurable happinesses, but let us keep the memory of them imperishable to the end. There is much admirable character-drawing in "The Second Blooming." Fenor, however, is the least successful; one particular attempt at detailed drawing (p. 279) seems to me of the nature of rather irrelevant photography. Of Mary, the one of the three sisters trammelled with unceasing maternity, and least conscious of the whole problem, I treasure an inexpressibly tender recollection, as of some gracious Star of Bethlehem.

16. WITH THE TURK IN WAR-TIME. By Marmaduke Pickthall. (*J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.* 1914.) Price 5s. net.

The reader at once realizes that Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall is not one who travels through an Ottoman province in ten days, accompanied by an Armenian interpreter from London, and then, posing as an authority, produces a book on Turkish misrule. In these days of steam and petrol, his method is so leisurely that it actually savours of the atmosphere in which he writes. This must account in some measure for the great popularity of his work, especially amongst those who, acquainted with the East, are therefore best able to judge and appreciate the extraordinary intimacy with which he portrays Eastern life and character.

Hitherto Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall has confined himself to Arab life and customs, his best known book of course being "Said the Fisherman"

which is already in its tenth edition. "With the Turk in War-Time" is therefore a new departure, but it is not one that will disappoint, but should rather be welcomed by, his old admirers. A thorough master of both classical and colloquial Arabic, he settled down on arrival at Constantinople to learn the language of the people. He was content neither to entrust himself to the Levantine pirates who infest the town, nor yet to official Turkey, where either French or English would have sufficed. He did not remain for long among the cosmopolitan crowd of Pera, but made his home instead where he could study his subject in a particularly fascinating environment. The result is a book of absorbing interest, which should be read not only by those desirous of understanding the political and social life of the Near East, but by every student of human nature.

THE INDIAN SOLDIERS' FUND

The following resolution was passed by the Council of the East India Association at a meeting held on Monday, October 10, 1914.

It was proposed by Sir William Owens Clark, seconded by Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, and carried unanimously.

"That the Association subscribe £50 to the Indian Soldiers' Fund, and that subscriptions be invited from individual Members also."

(Signed) J. POLLEN,

Hon. Secretary.

	£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged	66	15	0
Sir Chunabhai Madhowlal Ranchorelal, Bnt.	10	10	0
Colonel T. F. Dowden	5	0	0
The Chief of Ichalkaranji	1	0	0
H.H. the Nawab of Radhanpur	10	0	0
H.H. the Raja of Chamba	5	0	0
Lieutenant-Colonel C. Archer	5	0	0
Nawabzada S. Mohmdin Meera	2	0	0
	105	5	0

THE MUSIC OF INDIA: A CLASSIC ART

By H. M. HOWSIN

IN the November number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, Mrs. Haigh, in a sympathetic and suggestive article, discusses Indian music. We could have wished, not for less on Greek music, but for more on Indian, and especially for a more definite setting forth of the formative influence of Hindu culture on Greek music.

"The parent of all Western music was the ancient Greek art" certainly; the similarities between Hindu and Greek music are noted. Yet the key of the whole problem—that the source of Hellenic culture is to be found in that of ancient India—is not made clear at all. It is well to remember that Greece was at once the breakwater and the reservoir for the flood of Hindu-Iranian culture, which she alone, in a barbaric Europe, was to some appreciable extent intellectually and spiritually prepared to receive.

"It cannot be denied that Indian music, however well performed, rarely makes a spontaneous appeal to our musical sense, and affects it not always pleasurably"; and there is another reason—partly physiological, partly educational—besides the fact that we have taken our Western music "as the type, the norm, by which to measure the musical arts of other lands," and therefore do not appreciate so different a type as the Hindu. The Hindu claims that Indian music is far superior to the best of the European

Music presupposes language, and the Sanscrit language is universally acknowledged to be the richest and most perfect of all languages, ancient or modern. Hindu music is based primarily on the ancient Sanscrit notation; it has twenty-two semitones, while the European has only twelve. Now, it is not to be wondered at that Europeans, without any knowledge of Sanscrit language and literature, and with their sense of hearing not sufficiently developed to discriminate the finer intervals of Hindu music, should be unable either to understand or enjoy it. We have frequently remarked the quite extraordinary power of Hindus to distinguish shades of sound almost imperceptible to European ears. It is also significant that the highly educated Hindu, resident in Europe, with the advantage of knowing the language and literature, and being in many ways quite "Westernized," still finds European music a crude and painful performance.

In the good old days of the East India Company, when the Englishman made India his home and familiarized himself with the thoughts and ways of the children of the soil, such a competent scholar as Sir William Jones gives it as his opinion that Indian music is based on more scientific principles than European.

Another fundamental aspect is touched upon with reference to the various Hindu legends as to the creative or magical power of music, but its vital significance seems to have been missed. The writer refers to these "naive popular beliefs," but they are something far more; and though it may be true that "it is just because music could affect the feelings and moods of the people so deeply that they looked with awe upon its powers," and that "from being impelled beyond reason and wish to do this or that at the behest of a musical strain, it is only a step further for a simple mind to conclude that the sovereign power of music could control the workings of nature too," yet we shall never understand Hindu music unless we perceive in these legends, not merely the naive belief of the "common

mind," but the hieroglyphic of a profound philosophical and scientific belief.

Hindu thought conceives Sound to be the means by which the manifested universe was and is created. There is the Formless Breath; there is the Breath which forms; Vach, the creative Word. In this connection we have the Logos of the Gospel according to St. John: "By Him were all things made." The creative sounds of the whole universe combine to make the "music of the Spheres." All things from the planets downwards have their right and appropriate rhythm, and the music which man makes or utters must be in harmony with the universal musical order around him, so that, though his songs taken by themselves may be melodious, yet if sung at a period when they would be out of harmony with the universal orchestra, the result is discordant and disintegrating. Sound and form being co-operative, the dance harmonizes the individual with the cosmic motions, as music with cosmic melody. The object of the whole scheme of Hindu philosophy and religion is to enable man to live harmoniously with his environment—to give him the lines of least resistance; and the creative powers of sound, used maliciously or ignorantly, may be as inimical to his welfare as they can be recreative in the hands of a David. This ancient Hindu belief that the "sovereign power of music could control the workings of nature too" is curiously confirmed in the now commonplace scientific experiment of placing fine sand on a disc and watching the grains form themselves into every variety of conventional design according to the different musical notes sounded, while the disintegrating power of sound is seen in the shattering of a wineglass when subjected to the prolonged vibration of its particular note.

So, too, any consideration of Hindu music, especially when taken in connection with religion, cannot overlook the use of the sacred mantras in Hindu ritual, which depend for their efficacy on right intonation, modulation, and correct pronunciation. "Music is the handmaid of

religion," and since religion plays a far greater part in the life of a Hindu than in that of a European, it is but natural that the art and practice of music should make more progress in the more highly religious nation. The finer instincts that a devotional temperament create do not rest content with any but the highest type of music, and music is a religious necessity to the Hindu, who regards its study as one of the many items of a spiritual training. The Hindus are the most spiritual people in the world, and their "music a mirror faithfully reflecting their inner life." The understanding of spiritual things, the focussing of things temporal to the vision of things eternal—these are the gifts; this is the worth of India to the world to-day.

"The spell of lethargy that fell on the cultivation of music and of other arts in India during the nineteenth century, was due to no internal weakness or decrepitude. Predominance of Western influence, slavishly imitated but never assimilated; the invasion of India by the restless commercial spirit of the West; the rise of industries, transferring production from the workshop to the factory; are among the many causes that kept the creative spirit in check for so long a period. But the active renaissance spirit that is making itself so widely felt in India of to-day, is full of promise for the arts along their own lines of development. Music, above all, is too closely bound up with Indian life as a whole to be diverted permanently from its essential traditions." This is finely said.

Mrs. Haigh, in discussing the influence of Christianity on Western music, points out that the introduction of the artificial and rigid bar measure, in place of the natural period of the phrase, was imposed by the stern authority of the ascetic Fathers of the Church. "In this fact lies the essential difference between ancient and modern music, between the music of the East and the music of the West. In ancient Greece as in India, the unit of musical composition is the phrase; a figure or motive is the shortest complete element,—an element which can, and normally

does, suggest an entire cognate idea, in movement, melody, and words. In Western music the unit is a bar, a fraction without any intelligible meaning in itself."

Here is another illuminating remark in a comparison of the ancient Greek and modern European idea of music. "So we find, in direct contrast to modern custom, that while music, *as an art*, was introduced into Greek life comparatively late, and after a hard struggle, *as an education* it was always accounted of the highest importance."

We cannot discuss the subject further, but the whole essay—so stimulating and provocative of further research—deserves the serious consideration of all who are interested in this most interesting subject. We hope it will be widely read.

OBITUARY

FIELD-MARSHAL THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL
ROBERTS, V.C., K.C., ETC.

LORD ROBERTS' eventful life of eighty-two years is so intertwined with the history of modern India and the recent history of England that an adequate review of it must necessarily cover much ground, and can hardly be attempted so soon after his death. His Indian career, however, closed in the spring of 1893, and though he retained his lively interest in the Indian Army and Indian military events to the day of his death, his after-life was mainly devoted to the South African War and to the large questions of Imperial defence, on which the great events now taking place will leave a strong impress. Without attempting to review his great work for India, England and the Empire, I propose briefly to touch on the salient point of his career in India.

He was born in Cawnpore on September 30, 1832. He came of an Irish military family noted for its longevity. His father lived to the ripe age of ninety, and before he retired from India attained the rank of a General and the distinction of the Grand Cross of the Bath. Frederick Roberts left India in his infancy. After a year at Eton, he was entered at Sandhurst, but his destined career required him at the East India Company's Military College

at Addiscombe, from which he obtained his commission at the end of 1851 at the age of nineteen.

He joined the Bengal Artillery, but saw very little regimental service. Scope was found for his ambition in the Quartermaster-General's department, to which he was attached practically till he obtained the command of his famous column in the Afghan War of 1878.

His services in the Mutiny were marked by both valour and resource, and he earned the Victoria Cross. He took part in the operations round Delhi, Lucknow, Agra and his native city of Cawnpore, and came into touch with both Nicholson and Hodson. In his view, however, the Mutiny was not merely a Sepoy revolt, but more in the nature of a rebellion. In this he was in conflict with the highest contemporary authorities, both civil and military; but he stuck to his opinion to the last. Events, however, have moved rapidly since his day, and it is possible now, after the lapse of over half a century, to see that Lord Roberts was less accurate in his diagnosis of the trouble of 1857 than were, for instance, Sir George Campbell and the Lieutenant-Governor who then held the reins of the Province of Agra.

The next great epoch in Lord Roberts' life is reached with the Afghan War of 1878, in which his military aptitude, combined with his remarkable reading of the Afghan character and his intimate sympathy with the troops whom he led, at once brought him to the front rank of Indian and British Generals. Thereafter his influence on all military matters was supreme. But he achieved this result by force of character, thoroughness of preparations, celerity of movements, coolness of judgment in every important crisis, and complete humanity in peace and war. Both his Kurram campaign and his march to Kandahar afford admirable illustrations of his qualities as a General and Administrator.

At the first signs of trouble in 1878, the task that was entrusted to him was, with 1,300 British and 4,000 Indian troops and thirteen guns, to invade Afghanistan from the Kurram Valley through the Shutar Gardan Pass. He

accomplished his task by very skilful strategy, in which may already be discerned the germs of his strategy in the Boer War. He made the most of his small forces, and relied upon turning movements, but the impetus of his march was so great that he accomplished his purpose with very little sacrifice of life. His reward for this brilliant piece of work was the thanks of Parliament and a K.C.B.

Lord Roberts tells us in his autobiography of the gloomy forebodings with which he saw Cavagnari's Mission depart for Kabul. He was asked to propose Cavagnari's health at dinner, but he was so thoroughly depressed that he could not utter a word. In his opinion a mere show of force, without thoroughly convincing the Afghans that they were beaten, was worse than useless, and only laid in a store of future troubles. His forebodings turned out to be too true. In September, 1879, news arrived of the massacre of the British Mission at Kabul. The Kabul Field Force was immediately constituted, and Sir Frederick Roberts, as he was then, started on his famous march to the Afghan capital. As in the earlier march through Kurram, Roberts's chief difficulty was lack of transport in difficult country. He, however, overcame all obstacles, outflanked the Afghans, severely defeated them on October 6, and was in Kabul by October 9. On November 1 his headquarters were moved into Sherpur for the winter.

The Afghan attack on him in force was easily beaten back, but the whole of Afghanistan was in a state of ferment for months afterwards. Abdul Rahman was proclaimed Amir in July, 1880, and the British troops were almost on the point of evacuating Afghanistan when news arrived of the disaster at Maiwand. The deposed Amir's brother had marched from Herat, and taking advantage of the weakness of the garrison of Kandahar, had overwhelmed by weight of numbers the gallant little force that went to meet him. Roberts with characteristic promptitude formed his column for the march from Kabul to Kandahar.

He had at his disposal about 10,000 men of all ranks and 18 guns. Difficulties of transport and commissariat in the enemy's country were surmounted by careful organization and forethought. By August 15 Ghazni was taken, and on the morning of August 31 the column marched into Kandahar practically without any opposition. They covered the 313 miles from Kabul in twenty days, and would have been able to do it in less time, had it not been for their commander's solicitude for the health and welfare of his men. He had received a message from Kandahar that the garrison could hold out for some days, and he was anxious to give his troops rest, and get them fresh into Kandahar. He himself arrived in a state of exhaustion after a sharp attack of fever. The range of temperature had been as much as eighty degrees in twenty-four hours. The march deservedly ranks as one of the finest feats of arms recorded in military history. It practically closed the Afghan War, and settled for a generation the lines of British policy towards Afghanistan. Not only have the Amirs Abdul Rahman and his son, Habibullah, faithfully adhered to the settlement, but, with the exception of the Panjdeh incident, the friendly relations then established with the Afghans paved the way for that Anglo-Russian *entente* of which we are reaping the fruit in the world war of to-day.

The last and most fruitful period in Lord Roberts' Indian career was his tenure of the office of Commander-in-Chief in India, which he held for seven years and a half, from the cold weather of 1885 to the spring of 1893. His chief achievements during this period were :

1. The practical preparation of the Indian Army as a fighting force. In his very first year as Commander-in-Chief he held the great camp of exercise at Delhi, at which the readiness of the army for war was fully tested, and all defects in commissariat, transport, and organization, were carefully noted with a view to their elimination.

2. The abolition of the Presidential Armies. The origin

of the British-Indian Armies dates back to the exigencies of the East India Company, which grouped its territories under the three Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal. Each Presidency was absolutely independent of the other, until the general control in civil matters was given to the Governor of Bengal with the title of Governor-General in 1773. The three Presidential Armies, however, remained water-tight compartments, each with its own Commander-in-Chief. There were political reasons for this as well as those of administrative convenience, when the state of communications rendered the direct control of a single Commander-in-Chief practically impossible. The system was, however, clearly an anachronism at the end of the nineteenth century, when the value of India's troops was likely to be tested, not in fights against petty country powers, but in the defence of the North-West Frontier against a first-class military power like Russia. The scheme was under discussion for many years, and even when it came into operation, soon after Lord Roberts left India, important complementary reforms were left over to be carried out by Lord Kitchener when he was in chief command in India.

3. The defence of the North-West Frontier. This question loomed very large in the days when our relations with Russia were less cordial than they are now. There were two schools of thought. One laid stress on the construction of numerous fortifications, to make the frontier impregnable. The other laid stress on developing the lines of communication, so as to bring all the strategic points on the frontier into direct communication with the daily growing railway system of India. Thanks to Lord Roberts's energy and foresight, the latter school won the day. The principle—that lines of communication are more important in modern warfare than fortifications—has been completely vindicated now in the greatest war that the world has yet seen.

4. The organization of the Indian Army on the lines of the social structure of the people, and with due regard to

the individual capacities and talents of the different castes and tribes from which the Indian Army was drawn. It is this "selection of aptitudes" and their practical recognition and utilization that have made of the Indian fighting force one of the finest professional armies in the world.

5. Attention to the comforts, moral and material well-being, and pay and prospects of the individual soldiers, British and Indian. Skilled nursing was supplied to military hospitals. Homes were started for British soldiers in the hills, where the climate is more akin to the climate of their own country than that of the tropical and sub-tropical plains of India. The Army Temperance Society was also the fruit of Lord Roberts's zealous care for the morale of his soldiers, on which he laid stress to the final days of his life. Musketry training and fire discipline, as well as gunnery, were developed on practical lines, in conditions which resembled, as far as possible, the conditions of actual warfare. The pay of the cavalry was raised, and a scheme was drawn up for raising the pay of the Indian infantry, which came into force after Lord Roberts's departure. The rules about pensions, *batta* (field allowance), good conduct pay, and medals, were considered and improved. In such matters there cannot necessarily be any finality. After or during the present war these questions will demand urgent attention again, with reference to the conditions of to-day, and, indeed, they have forced themselves on the attention of every successive Commander-in-Chief. But to Lord Roberts they were cardinal questions of policy and practical preparation, and his careful attention to all the details of the needs of individual soldiers won him their devotion in an extraordinary degree.

It was not without reason that when Lord Roberts died in his eighty-third year, from a chill contracted during a visit to the Indian troops fighting on the Franco-Belgian frontier, that his Sepoys and Sowars mourned him as the "Father of the Army." His name and example are an asset of incalculable value both to India and Britain.

A. YUSUF ALI.

SIR TARAKNATH PALIT

We regret to announce the death of Sir Taraknath Palit, which occurred on October 3 at his residence in Calcutta.

It is a matter of universal knowledge how Sir Taraknath, by his last act of the princely gift of his entire fortune to the University of Calcutta, carried out in a practical way his lifelong desire to leave his country some lasting benefit. Sir Taraknath was one of the last of the little batch of enterprising young Indians who first broke through the barriers of social and religious prejudice in Bengal and came to Europe to study what could be learnt from the West.

On his return to his country in 1871 as a fully qualified barrister, he devoted himself at first entirely to his profession, and soon gained such name and fame that in the course of seven years he had amassed a large fortune and established his reputation as the foremost criminal lawyer in India. He had always been imbued with the most modern progressive ideas, and he was now able to carry these out. He sent his family to England, breaking through the barriers of caste and purdah which he considered detrimental to the progress and good of India, in order that they might have the fullest benefits of a Western education. All his children—sons and daughter alike—were brought up with these ideas, and they have every reason to be grateful to him for his courage in thus setting an example which also encouraged many others in Bengal to follow his lead. Sir Taraknath had always taken the deepest interest in the welfare of his country, and he was firmly convinced that education was the principal need, not only of the book-learning kind, but education of a more practical kind, and covering fields of technical knowledge. With this view he had determined at first to establish a technical college, and had, in fact, endowed and started such an institution; but after a short time he found that, owing to many difficulties and various reasons, this college would not be

the benefit he desired it to be, and therefore he transferred the gift of his entire fortune to the University of Calcutta to found scientific chairs, which are to be occupied by Indians and Indians alone. He received the title of knighthood as a recognition of this princely gift about two years ago.

Sir Taraknath had been suffering from an incurable disease for some years past, and the end was not unexpected.

In spite of his age and his failing health, till almost the very last he took a keen and practical interest in the welfare of India, and worked continuously for the benefit of his country. His wonderful personality, strong character, and marvellous brain made him a lasting influence, not only among his personal friends, but all over educated India. He died at the age of seventy-three—a great age in India—and left a noble example of public-spiritedness and genuine practical patriotism.

INDIAN HONOURS LIST

JANUARY, 1915

THE MOST EXALTED ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following promotion in the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India:

TO BE K.C.S.I.:

1. Major-General William Richard Birdwood, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., Secretary in the Army Department to the Government of India.

THE MOST EMINENT ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following promotions in and appointments to the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire:

TO BE C.I.E.:

1. Maharaja Sri Velugoti Sri Raja-opa Krishna Acharya Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Pauchulazari Maunabdar, of Venkatagiri.
2. Sri Sir Kuntava Narasimharaja Wodeyar Bahadur, C.I.E., Yavagal of Mysore.

TO BE HONORARY C.I.E.:

1. Abdulla bin Esat, son of Sheikh Ysa bin Ahmad Khatri, the Chief of Bahrain.
2. The Rev. Dr. James Carochias Rhea Evans, M.A., D.D., D.D., Principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, Punjab.

TO BE C.I.E.:

1. Claude Dandias James Carmichael, Esq., Indian Police, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Madras.
2. Fazulbhooy Meherah Chmoy, Broker, Sheriff of Bombay, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor for making Laws and Regulations.
3. Kiran Chandra De, Esq., B.A., Indian Civil Service, Magistrate and Collector, Bengal.
4. Frank Willington Carter, Esq., Partner in Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co., Calcutta.
5. Charles Montague King, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, Punjab.
6. Khan Bahadur Sheikh Riaz Hussain, Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner and Magistrate of Multan, Punjab.
7. Edward Rawson Gardner, Esq., Indian Public Works Department, Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor for making Laws and Regulations.
8. George Thomas Barlow, Esq., Superintending Engineer, Irrigation Branch, Public Works Department, United Provinces.
9. Frederick Samuel Philip Swann, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Magistrate and Collector, Banda, United Provinces.
10. Berkeley John Byng Stephens, Esq., of the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation, Chairman of the Burma Chamber of Commerce, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor for making Laws and Regulations.
11. Mir Kamal Khan, Jam of Las Bela, Kalat, Baluchistan.

12. Captain Walter Lumsden, C.V.O., Royal Navy (retired), Director of the Royal Indian Marine.
13. Rai Bahadur Colonel Dewan Bishan Das, Military Secretary to the Commander in Chief, Jammu and Kashmir State.
14. Major Frederic Gauntlett, Esq., Indian Civil Service, lately Comptroller and Auditor-General.
15. Major Samuel Richard Christophers, M.B., Indian Medical Service, Officer in charge of the Malarial Bureau at the Central Research Institute, Kasauli.
16. Colonel George William Patrick Dennys, Indian Medical Service, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Central Provinces, and a Member of the Council of the Chief Commissioner for making Laws and Regulations.
17. William Peter Sangster, Esq., Indian Public Works Department, Executive Engineer, Malakand Division, Upper Swat River Canal, North-West Frontier Province.
18. Captain William Henry Irvine Shakespear, Indian Army, Political Department, lately Political Agent, Kowet, Persian Gulf.
19. Montague Hill, Esq., Indian Forest Department, Chief Conservator of Forests, Central Provinces, and lately Officiating Inspector-General of Forests.
20. Captain Frederick Mashuan Bailey, Indian Army, Political Department.
21. Sahibzada Abdul Samad Khan, Chief Secretary to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, United Provinces.

KNIGHTHOODS

The King has been graciously pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon—

1. Mr. Justice Joseph John Heaton, Indian Civil Service, a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Bombay.
2. George Cunningham Buchanan, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E., Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Commissioners for the Port of Rangoon, Burma.
3. Mr. Justice Donald Campbell Johnstone, Indian Civil Service, a Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab.
4. Loraine Geddes Dunbar, Esq., Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal, Calcutta.
5. Dr. John Hubert Marshall, C.I.E., M.A., F.R.S.E., F.S.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India.
6. Satyendra Prasanna Saha, Esq., Barrister-at Law, Calcutta, a Member of the Council of the Governor of Bengal for making Laws and Regulations, and sometime Legal Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy and Governor-General.

KAISAR-I-HIND GOLD MEDAL

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following awards of the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal for Public Service in India of the First Class.

1. William Douglas St. Leger, Esq., Organist, St. George's Cathedral, Madras.
2. The Reverend Antoine Marie Tabard, Chaplain of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Bangalore.
3. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hamerton Prichard, Indian Army, Political Department, late Political Agent in Bundelkhand.
4. Hakim Mahmood Ajmal Khan, Hazrat-ul-Mulk, President, Anjuman Tibbia (Medical Association) of Delhi.
5. Edwin Ashley Philips, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Magistrate and Collector, Jammu, United Provinces.
6. Rai Mahabir Prasad Shah Bahadur of Chapra, Bihar and Oussa.
7. Major James Husband, M.B., F.R.C.S.E., Indian Medical Service, Civil Surgeon, Wana, North-West Frontier Province.
8. Dr. Charles Albert Bentley, M.B., D.P.H., Special Officer under the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal.
9. Khan Bahadur Qazi Khulil-ud-din Ahmad, Diwan of the Panna State, Central India.

The King has been pleased to sanction the following grants of Honorary rank in the Army:

The Maharaja of Kolhapur to be Honorary Colonel in the Army.

The Maharaja of Rewa to be Honorary Lieutenant Colonel in the Army.

Major The Maharaja of Kotah to be Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army.

The Maharaja of Alwar to be Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army.

His Majesty has also approved the appointment of the Maharaja of Kolhapur as Honorary Colonel of the 103rd Mahatta Light Infantry.

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GREECE, THE BALKANS, AND THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE

By PLATON E. DEAKOULES, LL.D.

AN Eastern problem existed even before the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. Strictly speaking, however, the Eastern problem since that event has consisted in the need for liberation of south-eastern Europe from the Turkish occupation of the Balkan Peninsula; for what is known as Turkey in Europe has never been anything but a military occupation of the Balkans. The Eastern problem has had many phases, and it has been always vitally connected with the interests and aims of the European Powers. But since the coalition of four Balkan States—Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro—in a firm understanding to expel Turkish rule from Europe, the Eastern problem has changed aspect fundamentally, in that it has become more complicated just when it approached solution. The Balkan League was a surprising event which profoundly disturbed the Great Powers, especially the neighbouring empires, who did not suspect that the four States had eluded the Teutonic vigilance so well as to form a coalition. And even after they saw this astounding fact they did not believe that it would end otherwise than in the complete triumph of Turkey. So they were even more disturbed when they saw that within two months each of the

allied nations went from victory to victory, until they so curtailed the Turkish Empire as to reduce it to the size of a small English county. The reader may think, what a pity the coalition had not been brought about some years earlier, before Germany and Austria had time to exercise their nefarious influence upon the efforts of those tyrannized peoples who were striving to free themselves from an intolerable yoke. The answer to this is that the Balkan nations were so absorbed in the struggle for acquiring consciousness of individuality that their energies could not be spared for other but military activities. In an age of economical development elsewhere, the Balkan States were reduced to the necessity of concentrating all their attention on safeguarding national existence. Unfortunately, certain factors interfered even with military efficiency so much that it has been lamentably retarded. Among these factors one has been the too egoistic turn taken by their national ideals. Unable to perceive the value of co-operation, or to admit the fact of human solidarity, or to trust the guidance of goodwill, they became intensely jealous of one another, and each developed a spirit of Chauvinism which gradually made all understanding appear impossible. The same great ideal actuated them all—namely, the expulsion of Turkey— and while each strained every nerve to contribute to that desirable end, at the same time it aimed at installing itself as Turkey's successor. We must add that false notions in regard to the object of human life, imported by the materialistic school prevailing a generation or two ago, brought these unsophisticated races of the Balkans to the belief that might is right, that success means living by preventing others from living, and that, after all, this is compatible with the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. As usual, the teaching of the interpreters of Darwinism was mistaken for Darwinism itself. Kropotkin, in his "Mutual Aid," enlarges upon this misconception, and shows that mutualism is so fully in harmony with the great law of evolution that the doctrine of the survival of the fittest is

seen in its true light only when we take into account the equally great law of association, so that we may regard those who combine for the struggle of life as the really fittest. Darwin did not ignore the law of association, and nothing warrants us in supposing that human beings should be less capable of combining in the struggle for life than the other animals whose instinct for combination is so eloquently pointed out by Kropotkin. Had the Balkan States been animated in time by this spirit, they would have seen the folly of their rivalries, and they would have made it a common cause to achieve their common object without needing to invite "disinterested" helpers from without. This brings me to the mention of the third factor, which retarded their awakening.

It is the sinister influence of foreign intriguers in various guises—diplomats, financiers, exploiters, agents, advisers, etc. The scope of these instruments of the neighbouring Empires would not be wide if the Balkan rulers were not passionately ambitious for power and fame. Their personalism, if I may coin this word to express their disease, has been so intense that they were gradually led to eliminate from their mentalities all thought of their countries, and to become absorbed in the furtherance of schemes for their personal aggrandisement. Thus the narrow ambitions of the chiefs of the States is the fourth factor in the retardment.

Not until 1912 did it become possible to perceive the soundness of common action against their common tyrant. The coalition of the four States will remain for ever a record of glory for those who initiated it. And History will never forgive the Bulgarian Chauvinist party (or perhaps, shall we say, King Ferdinand) for breaking up that nucleus of a possible Balkan federation, in furtherance of the objects and aims of the Teutonic Governments, and to the disgrace and ruin of Bulgaria. Dr. Dillon, in his masterly review of 1914,* reveals certain facts known only

* "Europe in 1914," *The Daily Telegraph*, December 31.

to a very few. He explains how the throne of King Ferdinand was saved by means of an Austrian promise that the Treaty of Bukarest was before long to be annulled through Vienna diplomacy, or somehow. I happened to be in Sofia last June, and had opportunity to learn that, were it not for this Austrian assurance, the Bulgarian politicians' would not have been able to prevent the deposition of the King, perhaps the abolition of kingship.

It may be well to explain my visit to the Bulgarian capital—a visit which could not be forgiven at that time by my fellow-countrymen, who now, however, seem to realize the value of inter-Balkan amity. In May and June last I visited all the Balkan capitals, and had conversations with prominent men, including the Prime Minister of Serbia, M. Take Jonescu of Roumania, M. Tontcheff of Bulgaria, and members of the Greek Government, with a view to forming an inter-Balkan Committee for the furtherance of an inter-Balkan *entente* in defence of the peninsula from possible attacks. I had seen just before some well-known pacifists and Socialist leaders in Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest, and with this effort several Serbian, Roumanian, and Bulgarian journalists co-operated, and more particularly the Bulgarian Socialist members of the Parliament. I must mention that of all parties in the Balkan Peninsula the Socialists have been the only real advocates of Balkan Federation, and this object is one of the demands in the programme of the Greek Socialist party, as well as in all the Balkan Socialist parties.

Unfortunately, in the Balkans hatred is preached as a gospel of national salvation, a result, perhaps, of the Bismarckian dogma that only through war can nations grow and prosper. An endeavour to counteract this doctrine began to be productive of results, in the sense that many have quite understood the argument that the Balkan States can only be saved from foreign attacks if they forget their enmities, and combine for peace and progress. But the Chauvinists raised a great outcry against

the heresy of inter-Balkan love. In the meantime Austria attacked Serbia, and, whilst some Athenian newspapers were incensing their readers against me, most people thought that, after all, there must be something in the contention that inter-Balkan friendship is the best policy for Balkan salvation. The idea of a Balkan Federation was always repugnant to all the ordinary Balkan politicians, and not less so to the Greeks. Yet it was Regas, the protomartyr of the Greek Revolution of 1821, who first proclaimed the Federal ideal side by side with his appeal to the Greek nation to rise against the Turks. It is significant in this connection that Austrian spies seized Regas, and delivered him to the Austrian Government, which handed him over to the Turks. He was tortured to death. His last words were: "I am satisfied. I have sown sufficient seed. The time will come for the harvest." Indeed, it has come.

It is fortunate that Serbia so gallantly and so gloriously defeated the armies of the Dual Monarchy, but were it not that Germany is engaged by Russia, France, and England, who can say that the fate of Serbia would not be that of Belgium? And who can guarantee that each Balkan State will be always in so favourable a combination of events as to withstand the attack of a powerful enemy? Not one of the Balkan States would be able to realize its ideal single-handed. It is obvious now, more than at any other time, that their only salvation lies in union, and union can be achieved solely by goodwill among themselves, making mutual concessions, and refraining from Imperialistic day-dreams.

The Imperialistic mania has undoubtedly contaminated these peoples through their contact with Prussian conceptions of life. It has had the effect of making them forget that their sole endeavour should be to eliminate the Turkish rule. Each came gradually and imperceptibly to conceive and build for itself a dream of "Der Tag" of its own. Hence the militarist spirit in its fullest perversion took

possession of them all, and every other consideration—social, industrial, economic, ethical, intellectual, and spiritual—was thrown into the background, if not ignored altogether. Civilization seemed beyond comprehension, an art, culture, and thought out of the question. The Germans, at all events, had achieved much in these fields before they decided to become military machines; but their Balkan pupils embraced militarism, regardless of all human ideals. Then, to a considerable extent, Turkish fatalism, too, has vitiated the mentalities of public men in all the Near East, and they seem to think that one way or another it does not really matter what one does. The mere course of events, as the politicians generally imagine, cannot lead to the realization of ideals. Without human will the course of events is blind. Even the most virtuous conduct is fruitless *per se* without pointed volition. With the new dispensation eliminating Prussian militarism on the one hand and Turkish *laissez aller* on the other, it is possible to hope that the Balkan statesmen will be inspired by the conception that it is necessary to control fate by conscious endeavour to realize ideals.

II

The Balkan nations are of various races, religions, languages, and traditions, but there is one common bond which practically is enough to make them, if not one nation, at all events one system of nations. They all alike have one common economic interest, and one common ideal. This is the bond that unites them. It is their supreme interest to live as independent, prosperous units, and their supreme ideal to develop their potentialities for the benefit of the whole Near East. This can only be achieved by mutualism and combination. But they gave all their thoughts to rivalries arising from their dissimilarities which are unessential when they should have given their whole thought to co-operation dictated by their common economic

interest and by their common ideal, which are the essentials.

Perhaps the most important of all these dissimilarities is the racial one, since language, religion, and tradition matter less and less as education advances. The racial difference when examined better does not seem to present any great obstacle to common life and aims. The racial difference is rather fictitious, and although the Greeks are one distinct stock, the Slavs another, and the Turks another, it is only wrong education which fabricates superficial incompatibilities, easily made to disappear the moment these various races decide to work in common. I have travelled repeatedly in all those countries, and have come into touch with all the different races. My impression, corroborated by many other observers from Western Europe, is that there is hardly anything to substantiate a difference between a Bulgarian, a Serbian, a Greek, a Turk, or a Roumanian. Indeed, all the bases of discord in the Balkans—race, religion, language, and tradition—might be negligible quantities in face of the idea of Balkan unity and independence. But to smooth down dissimilarities, right education was necessary, and secondly, some strong influence—an active propaganda, for example—to counteract the intrigues of Foreign Powers. Both these necessary forces have been absent, and consequently wrong education and foreign intrigue have made of the Peninsula a hell, when its peoples might have made life upon it as much of heaven as fellowship can produce upon earth. In the words of William Morris, "Fellowship is heaven. Lack of fellowship is hell."

As I said, the Greeks form a distinct nationality. It has been moulded by many influences in the course of twenty-five centuries. It has not preserved the ancient impress, but it has inherited many good points as well as many bad points of the ancient stock. Its great need now is to realize the value of interdependence. It has substantially achieved its independence. But freedom is in-

conceivable and impossible without regard to the existence of other distinct units. This axiom must be embraced by all the Balkan nationalities, remembering that, as the welfare of the nation is more important than the welfare of the individual, so the welfare of humanity is more important than the welfare of the nation. Although I spoke of Turkey's tyrannical rule, I do not mean that the Turkish nationality need be eliminated from Europe. It is always necessary to discriminate between Governments and peoples, and the Turkish people is not an exception to the rule. There is a Turkish Democracy (with its vices, no doubt, as all the others), which is victimized by the Turkish rule just as the other democracies have been victimized by it for eight centuries. Even at this moment the blame for Turkey's conduct in the present war does not belong to the Turkish people, but to the Turkish Government.

But to return to Greece. It may be said that, with the rise of the Young Turks in 1908, which was the beginning of the end of Turkey, Greece entered upon a new era of life. The decade that preceded that year was the gloomiest in her history. It was her darkest hour before the dawn. In 1897 she was defeated by Turkey, in a war which had been engineered by Austria, in conjunction, it must be said, with Russia - the same two Powers which had engineered the Serbo-Bulgarian war in 1885. That defeat brought Greece very near giving up in despair her long struggle for national unity, a struggle begun in 1821, and carried on ever since at the cost of all other activities. Her whole energies have been so taken up by the need for military preparations that all ability for industrial and social reconstruction has been paralyzed. The struggle was not only for national unity, it was a struggle for very existence. The other States had the same struggle to carry on, and there was always Turkey, supported by the Powers, a hindrance to their full emancipation. But Turkey, for Greece, meant something worse than for the other States. It meant insulation, as Dr. Arnold Toynbee so aptly

remarks.* The Turkish dominions might as well have been an ocean on the north of Greece, as far as regards railway connection with western Europe.

The Greek war of independence, which lasted seven years, was perhaps the most tragic of all the epochs in Greek history, ancient or modern. It stirred the souls of poets and thinkers of Europe; but its Governments were content to look calmly upon the holocausts of the Greek nation, decimated by massacres and by atrocities unheard of before in any part of the world. Shelley and Byron aroused mankind, and Admiral Codrington put an end to the seven years' tragedy by destroying the Turkish fleet (it was an Egyptian fleet) on his own individual responsibility. Canning now proclaimed that the Greeks were not rebels, but belligerents against Turkey. Afterwards, England, France, and Russia undertook to create a Greek kingdom consisting of about a million souls, and left out of it several millions who, although they had fought for seven years for their freedom, were again subjected to the Turkish rule. England, France, and Russia constituted themselves, by the London Protocol, the three Protecting Powers of the little kingdom. The first increase of it was the cession to it by England of the seven islands of Western Greece, known as Ionian Islands or Heptanessos. That was in 1864. The Berlin Treaty in 1878 assigned to Greece Thessaly and Epirus through the advocacy of France and England, but Turkey consented to cede only Thessaly, four years later, while Epirus, was held back by Turkey until wrested from her grasp by the Greek arms in 1912.

It is clear that Greece would not be justified in relying entirely on the goodwill of the European Governments. She was bound to have an expensive army and navy, and that necessity impoverished her. But there was no suffering and deprivation to which the Greek people hesitated to submit for the sake of achieving national unity. This,

* "The Policy of Greece since 1882" (Oxford Pamphlets, 1914), one of the most useful accounts of Greek affairs I have ever read.

however, encouraged the politicians to contract loans, which intensified poverty, because none but the poorer classes are called upon to pay for the interest, by merciless taxation.

That Germany had an eye upon the Balkans, including Greece, is shown by the fact that the Kaiser in 1898 was very anxious that a Commission of Control should be placed by the Powers over the financial affairs of Greece. The same institution was imposed, through the solicitude of the Teutonic Powers, upon every one of the Balkan States, except Roumania, who escaped it by increasing taxation on the peasants to an enormous degree. In 1897 Crete was practically liberated as a result of numerous revolutions, and entered into the Hellenic organization. That liberation was, as it were, the herald or chanticleer of a new era, and the island has also provided the man who was destined to preside over Greece so admirably during the further stages of her national unification. I allude to the present Prime Minister. He was called to Athens at a critical moment. The Greek people, in 1909, led by General Zorbas, rose against the ineptitude of the politicians, and commissioned a Military League to carry out certain resolutions. Zorbas was Dictator for nearly a year, and it is to his infinite credit that he neither abused his absolute power nor desired to retain it longer than was necessary. He brought about a revolution without bloodshed, and when Venizelos came from Crete, quietly consented to retire, and let the more competent man solve the political problem.

At that time I discussed with Venizelos the affairs of the Balkan Peninsula, and we agreed that it might not be impossible to induce Turkey to enter into an alliance with Greece, with a view to invite all the other States to join and form a Balkan Entente as a basis for a Panbalkan League. With this understanding I went to Constantinople, and after conferring with the ruling Young Turks, I wrote to Venizelos that there was no reason to despair of the success of our object, since the Turks expressed to me

a desire to see him in Constantinople. The letter which he sent me in reply was mysteriously intercepted by an Austrian journalist, as I discovered afterwards, and although I received it one month later, after I met Venizelos again in Athens, it was too late to do anything. In my second visit to Constantinople I found the Young Turks quite different. They scorned the idea of Greco-Turkish co-operation, and when I told them that there might be a Balkan co-operation before long without Turkey, they laughed outright, saying that Turkey was powerful enough to crush all the Balkan armies put together.* This little incident is one of the many that go to prove the systematic frustration of all attempts at Balkan unity by means of the ubiquitous Teutonic agent. The opportunity for a concerted action by the Balkan States against Turkey was not long in coming. The Italian War prepared the way, and in the summer of 1912 four Balkan States achieved the miracle of burying their enmities and their disputes about division of territories. Such disputes have existed between Serbia and Bulgaria, and between Bulgaria and Greece, but no disputes about territories existed between Montenegro and Serbia. Indeed, these two might have been one State. Only Austria, by seizing Bosnia, which lies between them, managed to separate them. The policy of Balkan separation and division was a kind of creed with the diplomacies of Russia and Austria. It is known that in 1906 Austria frustrated the project of a Customs Union between Serbia and Bulgaria, and that Russia opposed the creation of a United Kingdom of Bulgaria and Roumania when Bulgaria offered her throne to the King of Roumania.

The chief disputes between Bulgaria and Serbia were about Uskub; but these States entered into a secret understanding which Bulgaria unexpectedly refused later to recognize. The disputes between Bulgaria and Greece were about Macedonia; but they agreed to make mutual

* Achmet Riza Bey, the Speaker of the House, said to me: "Monsieur Drakoules, c'est faire de la poésie que de parler d'Union Balkanique."

concessions which Bulgaria after the war refused to respect, notwithstanding that she secured from Greece what she wanted. That was the cause of the second war, although its immediate occasion was Bulgaria's sudden attack without warning one night in June, 1913, against both her allies. By the second war Bulgaria lost most of what she had secured. Greece nevertheless willingly ceded to her the *Ægean* outlets, *Lagos* and *Dede-Agatch*, which the Greek Fleet had occupied.

Mr. Venizelos gave Bulgaria every satisfaction in order to bend her towards friendship. Indeed, he went to the utmost possible limit of concession for the sake of amity, in spite of the implacable hatred consuming the two countries against each other. His opponents in Greece accuse him of having conceded more than he had a right to concede, and his critics abroad for not conceding enough. But *Kavalla* is the utmost possible limit, and Bulgarian statesmen would realize that if they were inspired by the principle "live and let live." When this is realized—and I found in *Sofia* public men animated by this opinion—I do not see any reason why Bulgaria and Greece should not be friends. And when the time comes for Serbia, in consequence of her present victories, to be able to afford to satisfy Bulgaria, an Entente between these three Central Balkan Powers, as I suggested to Serbian, Bulgarian, and Greek statesmen last summer, will be quite within possibility, and it would form the nucleus of a Balkan Federation, since Roumania would be the first to be drawn within the sphere of its attraction.

Salonika will indisputably remain an integral part of Greece. That is natural, reasonable, and just, and her next historic step is to enter the present war, which makes for nationalist solutions. There is little further to be achieved in order to complete the solution of the national problem — *i.e.*, national unification. Already Greece is recognized by universal sentiment as the Guardian of the Asiatic Greeks, who number between three and four millions, and naturally

are irresistibly attracted to the Hellenic Organization. The Balkan triumphs were not without vital effect upon Turkey in Asia. The blow against European Turkey had a commensurate effect upon Asiatic Turkey, and the stir in Asia is now considerable not only among the Greeks, but among all the other races. The reason is that Turkish rule is as intolerable to the Asiatic peoples as to the European. The nationalism of the Asiatic Greeks is very strong, and the recent events have given to it a new force. In this way a Greek problem in Asia Minor is within measurable distance. It involves Smyrna and Aivali. Then the Constantinople problem will loom on the horizon. And what will be the nature of this problem? Every problem has only one solution. Will that consist in making of Constantinople a small neutral Turkish State? This seems more logical than internationalization, but neither course is the one solution. Russification, however desirable, would not constitute the solution, since it would keep Greek nationalism unsatisfied. With Constantinople anything may be done now that its former value has gone. It is not so valuable in these days of worldwide political interests. Anyone may be installed now in Constantinople but, notwithstanding any provisional arrangement, Constantinople, to my mind, is being rapidly drawn towards Greece, and that is bound to be recognized as the one solution. What has happened with Crete and Salonika is most likely to happen with Smyrna and Constantinople. For good or for ill, the Greeks will never forego their age-long claim to the capital of Constantine. But I do not think that Greece in possession of Constantinople would be an object of envy. With the loss of Constantinople Turkey expires not only in Europe, but also in Asia, and woe to him who should inherit her fabulous debts! That is a side problem which may suggest a supplementary solution, some *modus vivendi* with a Great Power. Or it may be that the financial difficulty will go to increase the argument for the Federal Solution. Then the problem alters, and the solution with it. The solution then

would be: Constantinople to become the centre of the Balkan Commonwealth.

Turning to the *Ægean Islands*, this question seems to me now quite settled since Turkey entered the war against the Entente Powers. With the exception of the islands occupied by Italy, which bide their time, all the others are practically, within the radius of the Greek State. The whole dispute concerns only four islands, all occupied by Greece during the war; two of them, Mitylene* and Chios† have been assigned by the Powers to Greece, but to this Turkey objects. Who, however, attaches importance to the objections of Turkey after her auto-extinction? Two other islands, Imbros‡ and Tenedos,§ although in every respect Greek like all the others, have been assigned by the Ambassadorial Conference to Turkey in indulgence towards her, owing to their proximity to her Asiatic dominions—an indulgence which turns out now to have been misplaced. Both these islands after the present war will find themselves automatically incorporated with Greece. With regard to those occupied by Italy, it is difficult to see how Italy will be able to justify her retention of them much longer. She holds them contrary to the will of the inhabitants, forgetting the democratic principle to which she owes her own *risorgimento*. It is against the sentiment of the Italian nation itself that these islands should be occupied by Italy.

* Mitylene (or Lesbos) is the birthplace of Pittacos, one of the seven sages of ancient Greece. The island, with its Mount Olympus, has been admired and commented upon by Horace, who classed it with Ephesus, Rhodes, and Corinth; also by Thucydides, Diodorus, Xenophon, Strabo, and Pausanias. Longus laid out in this island the scene of his famous novel, "Daphe and Chloe."

† Chios is distinguished by the fact that its inhabitants suffered more than any other Greek community during the Greek War of Independence, nearly all being massacred on refusing to lay down their arms, and the atrocities of the Turks causing great indignation at that time in Europe.

‡ Imbros formed part of the Athenian Republic since the time of Miltiades, and is, perhaps, more Greek than any others of the *Ægean Sea*.

§ Tenedos is the island from whence Ulysses, the Ithacan anax, conducted his generals opposite to Troy, inside a wooden horse.

Italian Liberals, at all events, have expressed to me this view. Moreover, it does not please public opinion in England and France. Italy would be fulfilling a much higher mission by assisting the Balkan States to achieve federal union. It is likely that she will remain in Avlona, and there is all the more reason to rejoice in the fact that neighbourly cordiality prevails between Italy and Greece. There is every reason to hope, therefore, that Italy will soon recognize the natural justice of transferring Rhodes* and the other islands to Greece, the moment she finds that there is no Turkey to whom to transfer them.

I have already referred to the Epirus question, showing how it is practically settled. This question has been linked with that of the Aegean Islands, and both have found their solution almost simultaneously. The Epirotic problem is definitely solved by the "provisional" reoccupation of Epirus by Greece last October. It had been occupied before last year, when it was reconquered by the Greek armies during the first Balkan War, and evacuated in compliance with Austrian wishes.

One Greek island remains to be mentioned—Cyprus. It has been administered by England since 1878, and annexed by her last November. Supposing England had been disposed to cede Cyprus to Greece in the past, she could not, because she was bound by treaty to transfer it to no other power except Turkey. The treaty no longer exists, and England is free to do what she likes with the island. The population is Greek except 20 per cent. Turks, much Hellenized, and there is no doubt that the Cypriots desire to form part of the Hellenic Organization, however pleased they are with the British régime, and however grateful to England for having liberated them from the Turkish rule.

* Rhodes was renowned in the history of ancient civilization for its splendour, its admired schools of sculpture, its famous schools of oratory, all Hellenic.

A wealth of interesting details on the Archipelago is to be found in the admirable little book of Mr. H. F. Tozer, of Oxford, "*The Islands of the Aegean.*"

In the present circumstances Cyprus has a strategic value for England, and the Cypriots would be the last to desire a change just now. But it seems likely that both Cypriots and English one day will agree that the island ultimately must pass to Greece. I spent several months in Cyprus in the early years of the British occupation, and have quite realized the sentiment of the people. It is the same as that which animated my own fellow-countrymen of the Ionian Islands. They love the English, but dream dreams of national unity. I was five years old when the English left Ithaca, my own native island, but I distinctly remember how the people embraced in tears the departing "red-jacket" Tommies. And the Ionian Islands had never been under Turkish rule.

III

The Sofia politicians committed a fatal mistake when, dragged by the Chauvinist party, they provoked the second Balkan War. It has culminated in the ruin of their country, and at the same time established the future safety of Greece. The position of Greece would have been one of extreme difficulty if matters had remained where the issue of the first war had brought them. Mr. Venizelos was strongly averse to the idea of a second war, and consented only when Bulgaria imposed it. She thus rendered a service to Greece. As matters stood at the end of the first war, Bulgaria was far too predominant for Greece to feel safe from Bulgarian attacks in future. Greece was without Kavalla before the second war, and Salonika without Kavalla would have been in perpetual danger from the attacks of a powerful neighbour.

The position of Greece, therefore, has improved, while the position of Bulgaria has suffered, whereas both might have gained by eliminating Chauvinism. This illustrates the folly of the Chauvinistic malady, spread everywhere by the Teutonic mode of thought. This obsession leads its victims to the commission of errors which redound to the benefit of the hated nation.

As a consequence of the above situation, the enmity between the two countries has been intensified, and until this enmity is removed we cannot hope for a real understanding among the States of the Balkan Peninsula.

The Bulgarian Chauvinists have been the instruments of the Austro-German endeavour to break up the Balkan alliance, which, by the unexpected discomfiture of Turkey, had so provokingly thwarted the Teutonic scheme for the conquest of the Near East. It is to this scheme, pursued persistently and systematically for more than a generation, that we must ascribe the inability of the Balkan peoples to forget their jealousies and rivalries. Their differences have never really been so irreconcilable as to explain the continuous enmity between them all. If only the rulers of the Balkan States could have had sufficient courage to withstand the influences exercised by the agents of the neighbouring Great Powers, and sufficient goodwill to come to an understanding among themselves, the Eastern Question would have been long ago solved, without leading to the present world-wide conflagration.

The moral of these remarks is that if we are to look forward to a great and splendid future for the Near Eastern nations, it can only be on the condition that a new spirit should animate their motives and their activities. The great preoccupation of the Balkan peoples ever since they began to acquire national consciousness consists in the expectation of inheriting Turkey, in order that each may complete its national unity. Turkey for centuries was the sole hindrance to their development. This preoccupation was common to all of them, and only large-mindedness was required in order that they should make common cause. But as I said, strength of character was also required to enable them to drive away the foreign intriguers who were assiduously sowing discord amongst them.

The Balkan statesmen have always been devoid of goodwill among themselves, and also devoid of the necessary soul-force to repel the advances of interested foreign

advisers. One example is sufficient. At the Hague Conference the Roumanian delegates voted against arbitration solely because the German and Austrian delegates opposed arbitration and voted against it. The Balkan States have always been isolated from one another on account of this political ineptitude. But the politicians share the blame with the ecclesiastics, whose reactionary and unprogressive influence has done much to keep the Balkan peoples in a most backward condition. Obedient now to Russia and now to Austria, both politicians and ecclesiastics frustrated always every attempt to bring about a Balkan understanding. Sowing discord was the principal method of the Teutonic Powers (and at one time of Russia also) for preventing combination. That these Powers disliked the idea of a prolonged peace among the Balkan States is proved by many facts. Space allows mention of only one. After the revolution of Roumelia (now South Bulgaria), a Conference was held at Constantinople in 1885. A draft for an agreement was discussed, and the delegates of Austria and Russia struck out the clause, "It is the desire of all the Great Powers that peace should prevail all over the Balkan Peninsula." It is also certain that Austria seized Bosnia and Herzegovina on the strength of promised permission by Russia, but failed to fulfil her own part of the contract. Indeed, this little treachery of Austria towards Russia was the beginning of their open antagonism, prior to which they were trying to find a formula by which to divide the whole of the Peninsula among themselves. Now affairs and aspects have been altered root and branch, and there is wide scope for the display of goodwill and determination by the Balkan statesmen; and as for the ecclesiastics, the less they interfere with the national and Inter-balkan interests the better for their own countries.

A fact which must be realized by all is that economic interest links all the Balkan States into one unity, whatever other differences there may exist amongst them. Economic change must therefore underlie progress. Industry

in the Balkans will grow, and it is all the more necessary for those countries to adopt the federal principle, otherwise after the departure of Turkey there is danger that their antagonisms of the past will be worse in the future. Once they can grasp this they will be able to work in a catholic spirit, and if they begin by instituting a Customs union, the federal union will follow in due course. But if, instead of turning to this common ideal, they persist in their egoistic nationalisms, even after their national aspirations have been realized, as they have been so marvellously realized within the last two or three years, then the verdict of history will be that the Balkan peoples have become too deeply poisoned by the nationalist virus to be able to rise to any high purpose. The verdict of history will thus be passed upon dead, albeit martial, peoples.

There are many indications, however, that, assuming some conscious effort, a new spirit will prevail. The federal principle becomes more and more appreciated everywhere, and is more and more evolved into a definite ideal to be realized within measurable distance. There are already in the Balkans not a few who work for it. But it is necessary to discriminate very carefully between the imperialistic, dynastic, and plutocratic type of federation, and the democratic type, based upon the solidarity of the productive masses of all the Balkan countries. A Balkan federation under Teutonic or Slav auspices would be a remedy worse than the disease. The federation must be purely Balkan, and must aim at a Co-operative Commonwealth. In this endeavour the sympathy of England and France will be a great encouragement, the more so as the victory of the Entente Powers, of which it is now impossible to doubt, will inevitably lead to the inauguration of the United States of Europe. The federal principle is, indeed, in the air. Already some of its fruits have appeared in Canada, in America, in Australia, in Switzerland, and in the German States too. Nowhere the racial and religious antipathies were more intense than in Canada. All these

have vanished after the application of the federal principle. The American constitution is another example of signal success, in addition to the fact that it suggests that the democratic methods of political life are best adapted for federal application. The American constitution is a solution of the problem how to combine full local or national independence with general or international harmony. This is also shown in Australia, where State legislatures are so admirably federated, and at the same time equip the Commonwealth with efficient combined defence. The Balkan States, too, can take example from Australia as to the successful Customs union, in consequence of which production has increased enormously within the last decade. The British Empire as a whole is the best example of federation, because it proves that the union need not be very strict, but that, in fact, a loose organic connection is safer. There are students of constitutional evolution in England who think it probable that England will before long adapt her constitution in accordance with the federal principle in the political system of her four nationalities of the United Kingdom. Then we have the Swiss Confederation. During the mobilization of France last August I had to make a sojourn of five weeks in Switzerland, and was witness of the admirable way in which differences of race, language, religion, and tradition can be reconciled into unity and solidarity. The Swiss institution of the referendum would be of great utility as an example to the Balkan peoples. The German Confederation has many points of similarity with the American union, as, for instance, the independence of each separate State. This will become more apparent after the abolition of Kaiserism.

The federal solution would also avert all possible fears about Slavdom. The Slavs are one-third of the population of Europe. That a universal Slav influence is in store may be taken for granted; but it need not be otherwise than in the sense of a mode of thought calculated to fashion the coming aspects of civilization, and destined to further

the human weal. The Slav idiosyncrasy, characterized as it is by a peculiar vein of fraternity and transcendentalism, may contribute to social conceptions of a wider nature. Anything like domination of one race by another is so incompatible with the manifest course of evolution, that all such attempts are doomed to failure—witness the Teutonic attempt. There seems to be a power behind evolution which makes for real freedom, real equality, and real fraternity, and tends to transform civilization into humanization.

We have seen that it is inherent in the federal principle to combine the liberty of the members with the safety, unity, and development of the whole. It is in fact the application of the maxim "Each for all, all for each."

Everywhere the working out of the federal principle has been difficult; but wherever it has succeeded, it has succeeded through the determination of enlightened statesmen and the mutual generosity of the peoples concerned. With these conditions, and remembering the unifying effect of the economic interest, the Balkan States, now that they have no excuse for being absorbed by nationalist pre-occupation, can give their whole attention to this solution and to the organization of their social and productive forces in a comprehensive spirit of justice, humanity, solidarity, and goodwill.

WHERE THE "EMDEN" WAS SUNK (THE COCOS-KEELING ISLANDS)

BY C. M. SALWEY

Author of "The Island Dependencies of Japan"

THE fact that these islands have lately been the scene of a very important event makes it natural that they should receive the attention of people who are interested in the present war.

The news that the capture and subsequent annihilation of the German cruiser *Emden* had been at length accomplished off the above-named islands produced widespread satisfaction. We may take this as a good omen for the future, since the Cocos-Keeling Islands are, and have been for nearly ninety years, one of the most peaceful groups of ocean habitations.

In the newspapers of November 11* details of the audacious work of the *Emden* since her escape from Kiaochou, at the commencement of the present war, until her encounter with H.M.A.S. *Sidney*, whose captain drove her ashore, and finally destroyed the cruiser by fire, were confirmed by the Admiralty's report, together with a message from Sir George Reid on the subject. These were doubtless eagerly studied at the time of the event. This paper, however, is intended only to be descriptive of the place in which the victory was achieved; for this

* See full details, together with illustration, in the *Daily Graphic*, Wednesday, November 11, 1914, pp. 8, 9.

reason it will only be necessary to give the merest outline of what occurred at the time.

Unfortunately, previous to her capture, the *Emden* was greatly favoured by fortune. Her captain seized twenty-three vessels of the Allies, and succeeded in sinking seventeen, and either releasing or preserving the residue. The tonnage of these altogether amounted to something like 70,000, while the value of the ships was estimated at about one million sterling. The *Emden's* line of route extended from Kiao-chou Bay (Yellow Sea) to the Indian Ocean, visiting several places, doing damage wherever she went, and finally steaming to the Cocos-Keelings, where she met her doom.

Captain Von Muller made his fatal mistake in seeking to destroy the wireless communication on these islands. "It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good," and so around that storm-driven cluster of fair isles and islets Australia found her entrance into the comity of sea-fighting Powers. Her astute captain C. T. Glossop, R.N. (H.M.A.S. *Sidney*), on the alert for the enemy's ship, ran the *Emden* ashore, and, after a sharp and dramatic encounter, burnt the tiresome gadfly of the ocean, winning for our glorious Australian colony "an everlasting name." This smart exploit has brought forward a new sea-power for our enemies to reckon with in the future.

The Cocos-Keeling Islands, lat. $11^{\circ} 40'$ to $12^{\circ} 12\frac{1}{2}'$ S., long. $96^{\circ} 49\frac{1}{4}'$ to $96^{\circ} 56\frac{1}{4}'$ E., var. $1^{\circ} 50'$ W., are twenty in number, taking in both large and small. They are divided into two distinct groups by a channel fifteen miles wide. The Northern Division consists of a tract one mile in length and half a mile in width, together with a very small coral reef, both of which are covered with cocoanut-trees, cabbage-trees, and iron-wood. The Southern Division, or South Keeling, is the most important, for the rest of the islands, by the manner of their disposal, form a barrier, crescent-shaped, which it is believed may possibly

someday become united. Among these islands there are two of considerable size: Selina, or *Pulo Atas*, about five miles in length, and Ross Island, or *Pulo Panjang*, about six miles in length. There is a wide lagoon ten miles in length and six miles in width, wherein patches of coral abound amid deep water, only navigable by boats. The whole number is of coral formation, rising and strengthening its position as years go on.

Like many other groups scattered over the vast areas of seas and oceans, they were probably visited, and neglected on account of inability of those who discovered them to organize any system of life and activity thereon. About three years ago they were brought again to the notice of the reading public by reason of an admirable publication entitled "Corals and Atolls," by Dr. Wood Jones. Illustration of the life and employment of the settlers for the time being supplied a topic of interest, and then, like many other themes, passed away, to give place to newer events.

The exact date of sighting the group is not known, but they were visited during the seventeenth century by an English sailor, from whose name they derived that of Keeling. Then, again, the Dutch, who were about that time extremely active, gave them a call, and added, after their usual manner, a new title, that of Cocos, to the first name. The Dutch were always energetic; they were to be found here, there, and everywhere, from the cold, snowy regions of the Kuriles to the southernmost point of the globe. Evidences of their untiring voyages around unknown places of the earth abound, which prove the ventures were undertaken for many reasons beside scientific investigations. Their thirst for annexing, or rather confiscating, every bit of neglected habitable land was very great. This is made evident by history or legend, inasmuch as one island after another, bay or creek, river or sea-board village, became identified by Dutch names, whether these adventurers sojourned there only a few hours or

days, or for longer periods of years, or permanent settlement.

In the year 1825 John Clunies-Ross took possession of the Cocos-Keeling Islands unopposed. He was an officer of the British Navy, and, taking up his abode, he married a Malay lady, some say a Malay Princess. He gathered round him a few Malay slaves, or coolies, together with other workmen from neighbouring islands, and constituted himself their chief.

John Clunies-Ross enjoyed twenty-nine years of peace and prosperity: he died in the year 1854, and was succeeded by his son, who died in 1871. From that date until October, 1912, George Clunies-Ross came into power. He was the most remarkable of the family. It was he who made this fair and beautiful archipelago what it is to-day. Knowing that he would in time succeed to this important post of Governor of the Islands, he prepared himself from boyhood to cope with difficulties that he felt might arise in the future. He was a man of great courage, capacity, and wisdom. Although, as in many other peaceful communities, a certain lawless element existed, and a small band of discontents jarred the harmony occasionally, there was plenty of pluck and resolution in this Scottish "King." He made the people under him feel his superiority, an effect which always is attended with good results if justice and sympathy, together with a quiet reserve of manner, accompany the lesson. He brought the whole island into obedience and fidelity. The first settlers had numbered less than twenty in all, but now, taking into account Malays and Bantams of both sexes, together with their children, the population numbers about 700 souls.* No sudden interference on the part of other navigators or adventurers seems to have marred this peaceful and happy settlement, admirably suited for a quiet and restful dwelling-place. Crime was almost unknown, and the sun rose and

* Since the Eastern Telegraph has been instituted, there are, in addition to the above number, seventeen Europeans and twenty six Chinese and Malays on Direction Island.

These kernels are utilized for making candles, which are termed "stearine" candles. The rest of the softer and more liquid portion, produced by great pressure, constitutes cocoanut-oil, used for lamps and for the manufacture of soap and pomatum. Copra therefore, it will be understood, provides the main commodity of trade, for large quantities are in demand abroad as well as in the islands. These kernels have to be dried and split before being packed; in the past they formed a valuable asset to the prosperity of all. This trade, however, is not confined to one set of islands. Wherever the graceful tree can grow, this useful cocoanut can provide work with profits for commerce. Copra only requires a certain amount of attention. There is but little risk in gathering the nuts, and hardly any danger in the venture, on account of the peaceful state of the community (so unlike the camphor workings in the head-hunters district of Formosa). The copra trade suits the Malay, who can endure without great discomfort the tropical heat of this nearness to the Equator.

At one time these stately trees were denuded of their beauty for the young shoots, from which a deadly intoxicating spirit could be obtained. The lack of any other stimulant caused this discovery to become a serious drawback. It was apparent that, if indulged in, the "King" would be obliged to resort to coercive measures. Like the grand Russian of to-day, the Malay labourers were made to understand that unless they gave up spirit-drinking they would bring both ruin and sorrow on themselves and the peaceful little colony. Their chief was firm in the matter, and after a severe moral struggle the men relinquished their manufacture of "palm-toddy," and a heavy price was placed on the intoxicant, over which the "King" henceforth secured the sole jurisdiction and monopoly. Nevertheless it is stated that King George of the Cocos-Keelings died worth £100,000, which was chiefly the result of his clever organization of the copra trade.

In order to keep his people happy and well employed,

he taught them many useful industries. Most of them could build homes of their own, and boats to enable them to fish and to gain access from one island to another. They were taught to make their own appliances for their special trades, such as nets and fishing tackle, hooks, baskets, ropes, and rough tools. It was stated that when King George died he had accomplished his task, and brought everything to such a high pitch of perfection that there was no happier spot in the vast Indian Ocean than the Cocos-Keeling group. Games and sports had been organized for all classes. Schools had been erected for the children, in which above all other accomplishments the art of caligraphy triumphed. Of all distressing news of sad events in the great world beyond their own narrow limits they were kept in blissful ignorance. Summer and winter succeeded each other in a round of calm and content, and lives were lengthened out to their appointed term in peace and tranquillity.

The present "King" is the great-grandson of the first Captain Clunies Ross. He enjoys all the benefits and blessings that have become his inheritance. His reign will be ever memorable by reason of the recent important event in connection with the *Endeavour* and the *Sidney*, which has now become historic.

Among others who have been associated with these islands, the name of Commodore Sir John Hayes has lately been brought to our remembrance in the painstaking little volume by Ida Lee. Sir John Hayes lived between the years 1767 and 1831. He was a traveller as well as a voyager. Several years of his life were passed in India. He explored Tasmania, New Guinea, Louisiade Archipelago, and other islands in the Indian Ocean. What most concerns us to record is that Sir John Hayes finally landed here. Feeling his end drawing near, he asked to be conveyed to the nearest place of safety. His public duties had been very strenuous. He embarked with Lady Hayes and her maid on board the cruiser *Coota*, when he soon after

became seriously ill, and requested the captain to land him on the Northern Division, which was then occupied by Captain Ross, who had formed the settlement, and lived there with his family in a comfortable wooden house. Every care and attention was given to Sir John Hayes by the kindly Ross family. Alas! even medical attention was of no avail. On July 3, 1831, he passed quietly away. "His body was laid to rest on one of the lonely and beautiful islands, possibly Pulo Atas, the southern and more distant portion of the island ring." According to accounts given in the work of Ida Lee, at first Selina Island was occupied by the Ross family. A change had to be made for a time to Pulo Panjang; this was of short duration, for eventually Selina Island became their permanent headquarters. In those days whalers called for fresh water, which is now plentiful. Fresh provisions were also freely obtainable.

After the death of her husband, Lady Hayes left this Island with her maid. When in mid-ocean it was necessary for the voyagers to change from the *Coote* to the barque *Austin*, in which ship both Lady Hayes and her maid went through terrible experiences. No sooner was the change made, and the further voyage commenced, than the Captain, William Ladd, lost his reason. The ship was bound for Calcutta. Being a powerful man, he did much damage, and seriously wounded two of the officers. He issued insane orders, which he forced his crew to obey. So great were the sufferings of the two women that Lady Hayes lost her faithful servant, who died of the terrors of the voyage.

Sir John Hayes, whose body rests in peace in these happy isles, will long be remembered for all his unceasing devotion to duty, and for a life well spent in days of enterprise amid fair and unexplored places, which have since his time become intensely interesting.

ENGLAND, TURKEY, AND THE INDIAN MAHOMEDANS

BY SY HUSSAIN

"This is no ordinary war," said Mr. Churchill in the early days of the conflict, "but a struggle between nations for life or death." While nothing could well have added to the supreme gravity of that issue, it can hardly be doubted that Turkey's long-threatened appearance on the scene, in the rôle of an active belligerent, has already incalculably added to its range and ramifications.

It is not our purpose to discuss the general bearing of Turkey's action on the colossal conflict now spread over Western and Eastern Europe. That action, as we know, has opened up the old "Near-Eastern" question, with its newer complications, and put the status and prospects of Egypt into the melting-pot. Epoch-making as these developments are, perhaps the most consequential feature of Turkey's intervention is its challenge of the existing relations between England and Islam. The scope and significance of that relationship—alike in its potential and present-day aspects—will be increasingly realized as the great drama now being enacted in blood runs its fateful course. Meanwhile it may be useful to draw attention to the fundamentals of the situation that has arisen.

It used to be a commonplace of the latter half of the nineteenth century that Queen Victoria was "the greatest

Mahomedan monarch in the world." This complimentary formula, which of course is no less true of Her late Majesty's successors on the throne, stood for the fact that she held sway approximately over one hundred million Mahomedans—a larger number than owed allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey himself. Of this vast figure, roughly about seventy millions belong to India. In other words, there are more of them than there are Japanese in Japan; there are rather more of them than there are Germans in Germany; they are more numerous than all the white inhabitants of the British Empire: they are very nearly as numerous as the white inhabitants of the United States. Thus stated, it becomes easier to visualize their numerical importance, and as for their communal character, no less competent an authority than Sir Harry Johnston has observed that: "In India it may be said almost without exception that the best-looking, strongest, most warlike, and in some directions most enterprising, element in the native population, and that which is the least fettered by foolish customs, is the Mahomedan."* Add to that that their political unity—a recent growth—is only less pronounced than their religious solidarity—an ancient attribute—and it becomes manifest that even from the utilitarian standpoint of statesmanship they cannot well be regarded as a negligible factor in the impending readjustment of Anglo-Islamic relations. But, in point of fact, the Mussalmans of India have very especial claims on the attention and sympathy of the Government—claims which, be it said to the credit of the Government, have been consistently admitted and not infrequently met in the past. The unprecedented calamity of an Anglo-Turkish war, however, stirs new depths for the Indian Moslem, and if his susceptibilities are to be spared, and his rights of conscience respected, as appears to be the avowed wish of the authorities, it is

* Sir Harry Johnston is an authority whose opinion is entitled to a hearing, but we dissociate ourselves from the full implication of his remarks. —*Ed., A. R.*

necessary that his sentiments must first be understood. What is the position ?

The loyalty of the Indian Mahomedans to the British Crown has passed into a tradition. In the past it has provided one of the surest bulwarks of British rule : it has been tried and tested and found true. For a generation and more their stolid attachment to the British Raj tended, in its unimaginative intensity, to be a hindrance to the political development of the country. But if their attitude filled the Indian National Congress with dismay, they became, as it were, the darling of the (bureaucratic) gods. It may be said that that is the tale of an earlier day. That would be a superficial reading of the facts. It has been less a change of feeling than a modification of attitude : the Indian Moslems in their relations with the Government have for the last decade replaced unquestioning confidence by questioning conviction. Who can doubt that the support and devotion rendered have thereby gained in quality ? This is borne out by their attitude during the stormy days of 1906, 1907, and 1908. They never wavered. And more recently they withstood the terrific reaction of events vitally affecting their co-religionists in Persia, in Tripoli, and in the Balkans. On the outbreak of the war with Germany, the Mahomedans of India, in common with the rest of their fellow-countrymen, rallied with enthusiasm to the cause of the British connection. Some of the finest Mahomedan soldiery in the world forms part of the Indian Expeditionary Force, and is now fighting for England on the Continent, in Egypt, and elsewhere. Enough has been said to establish the deep-seated devotion of the Mussalmans of India to the British Crown. This unswerving loyalty has been recognized to be entirely compatible with their spiritual allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey, who happens to be the Caliph of Islam and the Warden of its Holy Shrines, and thus commands the veneration of Moslems in Morocco, Algeria, Afghanistan, and China, no less than in India. His name as such is

mentioned in the public service every Friday in every mosque in Islamdom. There is no Moslem potentate in the world—with the historic exception of the Shah of Persia, whose country is the stronghold of Shiaism—who has not recognized the authority of the Sultan of Turkey as Caliph.*

In the case of the Indian Mahomedans this extra-territorial allegiance represents, of course, a continuity of historic tradition, and, so far as the masses are concerned, almost of religious belief, from the time of the Moghul Emperors. With characteristic generosity the British Government have always allowed the Indian Moslems to recognize the Sultan as "Caliph of the Faithful." To take a formal instance, on the outbreak of hostilities in 1876 between the Turkish Government and the States of Servia, etc., the sympathies of the Indian Mussalmans were strongly excited on behalf of the Sultan and his Turkish subjects; and to give expression to this feeling of sympathy with their co-religionists in a "proper and constitutional manner" a mass meeting of the Mahomedans was held in the town-hall of Calcutta, with the permission of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple, and the approval of the Government of India. The Hon. Nawab Bahadur Abdul Luteef, C.I.E.—"the most distinguished Mussalman reformer of the day," as Sir William Hunter called him, and who enjoyed in a unique measure the confidence of the Government—presided at this meeting, and the *Englishman* of Calcutta, the semi-official organ, in its issue of October 9, 1876, wrote: "The meeting of the Mahomedans of Calcutta which came off on Saturday, having for its main object to express sympathy with His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, in the endeavours of His Majesty's Government to defend and maintain its power, was, perhaps, one of the greatest political significance, especially as respects the followers of Islam, that has ever been held in

* Cf. "Pan-Islamism and the Caliphate," by the present writer in *The Englishman* (Calcutta), September 8, 1908.

the town-hall, or elsewhere in Bengal." Those were the days when, notoriously, Moslem interests leaned more towards Constantinople than Calcutta. But with the dawn of a political patriotism among Indian Mahomedans, identifying them more and more with their Hindu fellow-countrymen in the national cause, there has been no abatement of their interest in, and religious fellow-feeling with, Turkey. In the more recent crises through which the Ottoman Empire has passed, the manifestations of active sympathy on their part, as must still be fresh in the public memory, were striking and enthusiastic. When the Government of India accorded their sanction to the proposal for raising funds for Red Crescent relief for the Turkish wounded in the last Balkan War, the Mussalmans, from prince to peasant, responded as they had never responded before. They subscribed a larger sum of money for Turkish relief, we believe, than was ever raised by them for any domestic purpose whatsoever. To those not in touch with the social psychology of the Indian Moslem this may well appear to be an extraordinary phase of sentiment. But the explanation is not far to seek. Discussing the outburst of sympathy with Turkey evoked among his co-religionists by the wrongs of the Turco-Italian War, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, one of the foremost interpreters of Islam to the West, wrote :* " In India the Mussalmans are anxious to remain loyal to British rule, and to profit by the peace it has introduced in the country to achieve their material and moral development. But their religious and traditional sympathies extend far beyond the land they inhabit ; by race and religion the bulk of them are allied to peoples outside India. Their religious and historical ideals are thus bound up with the independent existence of those peoples. *It is absolutely in the nature of things that every throb in their hearts should create a responsive throb in the hearts of the Mussalmans of India.* The Mahomedan subjects of the King who have

* Contribution to "Turco-Italian War," by Sir Thomas Barclay.

given their whole-hearted loyalty to the Throne of England have a right to expect that their feelings and sentiments relating to their most cherished traditions should receive consideration in the general policy of the Empire, especially when those feelings and interests coincide with the demands of justice, humanity, and international obligations."

It is manifest, in view of the facts set forth above, that to the millions of Indian Mahomedans who would fain cherish England's traditional friendship for Islam, and with whom British action and policy during the Crimean and Russo-Turkish Wars are still abiding and grateful memories, the Anglo-Turkish conflict of to-day must be deeply distressing. They cannot but be confronted with a psychological struggle in which duty and sentiment apparently are arrayed on opposite sides. It was an inevitable position to ensue once war had begun, and not the less poignant for its inevitability. The duty of the Government would obviously be to face it with tact and sympathy, with firmness certainly, but also with a *real* desire to help. A very welcome beginning along this line was suggested by the prompt action of the Government of India, shortly after the declaration of war between England and Turkey, in declaring, in a proclamation issued throughout India, that, as between the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain, "no religious question is involved." Further, the categorical denial given to the reports of British designs on the holy places of Arabia and Mesopotamia, which had been sedulously set in circulation, proved most grateful to the Mahomedan community of India.

Unfortunately indications are not lacking that the statesmanlike and conciliatory spirit animating these declarations has been departed from in the subsequent handling of the situation. The authorities have seemingly succumbed to a reaction. On no other assumption is recent executive action explicable. And as we believe that this question of the official policy towards Mahomedans is one of vital importance to the welfare of India—one, too, which is

bound to gain rather than lose in importance as the weeks go by—we shall deal with the facts. It is imperative that British public opinion should adequately grasp the situation. The treatment of Mahomedan sentiment in India, in respect of the Anglo-Turkish War, has been characterized by extraordinary ineptitude, both in responsible and irresponsible quarters. The speeches of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, needlessly tinged with all the rancour of their Gladstonian prepossessions, produced in India a widespread feeling of dismay which their authors could not have intended, but might have foreseen. If, from the official point of view, it was worth while to have issued a proclamation reassuring Mahomedan India that “no religious question is involved” in the war between England and Turkey, and to have made a formal disclaimer of British designs on the holy places of Islam, then, surely, it ought not to have been possible for so sane and distinguished a journal as the *Manchester Guardian* to write editorially, as it did in its issue of December 18, 1914 :

“Mr. Asquith has declared it to be the policy of this country to make an end of the Turkish Empire in Asia as well as in Europe.”

Is it any wonder that the Moslems in India have been asking and wondering which is the correct version of British policy—the Viceroy* of India’s or the Prime Minister’s? It was inevitable, too, that a section of the Press in this country should take its cue from the utterances of leading statesmen. The result is that while the Government of India has been anxious to make it clear that England’s quarrel with Turkey is political and *not* religious, certain excellent “organs of public opinion” have been wallowing in ill-informed fulminations against the Caliph and the Caliphate! A typical passage may be quoted from an editorial in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (November 4, 1914):

“The message which the Moslems of India have received from the Aga Khan comes with the authority of the blood of the Prophet, and is more than a counterweight to any incitements from a very dubious ‘Khalif’ at Stamboul.”

His Highness the Aga Khan deservedly enjoys the esteem of his co-religionists for a variety of reasons, and is one of the outstanding figures in Indian public life, but he no more speaks with “the authority of the blood of the prophet” than does—shall we say, Mr. Garvin? His attributes are those of keen political acumen, rather than of sacrosanctity. As for the Ottoman Caliphate, it has been an institution for over 400 years, and for the last two generations at least has been consistently countenanced by Great Britain. It is not easy to see why it should suddenly become “very dubious” merely because a Turkish coterie has been enlisted, as the official version suggests, in a hopeless war against England. But it would hardly be worth our while to deal with such ignorant and stupid effusions, if it were not that, reproduced in India, they create misgivings in the Mahomedan mind. Those who imagine that by the kind of writing we have cited they serve the cause of England are profoundly mistaken; they merely compromise the *bona fides* of British rule.

The sources from which the Ottoman Caliphate derives its authority may be briefly set forth. It rests primarily, of course, on the “impressive fact,” to borrow Sir George Birdwood’s phrase, of the guardianship of Mecca and Medina—the holy cities of Islam. Moreover, ever since Selim I. obtained (1516-17) a cession of the sacred office from the last Abbaside Caliph, Mutawakkil III., the visible tokens of the Caliphate—the Prophet’s cloak (*chirgah*), his ensign (*sanjaq*), his staff, sabre, and bow, the “sword of Omar” and of the first two Caliphs—have remained hereditary in the house of Othman to this day. So that there is nothing nebulous in the sanction which the Ottoman

Caliphate commands. The tangible reality of the institution may, conceivably, be wrested by conquest or secured by cession, when, doubtless, the Islamic world would proceed, as in the past, to readjust its focus—and its faith. But those who contemplate this contingency should bear in mind that the Caliph must be a Moslem, and the Caliphate vest in an independent Moslem State, or Islamic sentiment would withhold its allegiance.

Nothing but good can result from an appreciation by the British Government and public of these facts, and of the real feelings of the Mahomedan community, which is loyal to the core. We therefore deplore the recent action of the Executive in India in embarking on the practical suppression of the Mussulman Press. Never was such pettifogging more untimely. Great issues are at stake, and statesmanship is called for rather than caprice and coercion. The Government could, we are convinced, with tact and patience and sympathy, carry the great Mahomedan community with it. If, on the other hand, the bureaucracy persists in its present policy of suppressing and penalizing the free expression of independent opinion, it will be less in touch with genuine Moslem sentiment and more and more at the mercy of its creatures and time-servers. Mahomedan feeling, at this crisis, should not be driven underground, there to ferment, but brought out into the light, understood, conciliated, won over.

How far the Indian Executive has allowed itself to stray from this conception of its responsibilities may be best illustrated by the recent case of the *Comrade* newspaper published from Delhi. The persecution of this journal, which had latterly acquired an undisputed position as the leading organ of Moslem public opinion, argues nothing less than the running amuck of the Provincial Government accountable for it. For the *Comrade*, if inconveniently outspoken and independent at times, has ever rendered a robust loyalty to the British Government. The political integrity of its influential editor, Mr. Mohamed Ali, is

sufficiently well-established. His latest offence, for which the wrath of the District Magistrate of Delhi (a functionary combining in his own person executive as well as judicial authority) descended upon him, was the publication of a remarkable article, extending over fifteen columns, in the *Comrade* of September 26, 1914, in which the Mahomedan point of view was laid bare with comprehensive accuracy. Mr. Mohamed Ali had had the courage to speak out what was passing in the minds of the majority of his co-religionists over the dread prospect of an Anglo-Turkish conflict. His article was as able and responsible a piece of political writing as any we can recall in the Indian Press of the last decade, uncompromisingly candid, it is true, but restrained in its incidence. We render this tribute the more gladly as in the past we have had occasion to criticize the writer. It appeared, of course, before the actual rupture of relations between England and Turkey. Mr. Mohamed Ali supported his plea for a conciliatory attitude on the part of the Imperial Government towards Moslem sentiment, by pointing out the causes which had tended, in recent years, to subvert British credit in Islamdom. Mahomedans who had counted confidently, if with a very imperfect grasp of the modern changes in international relations, on the traditional championship of Islam by England, saw that the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 did not prevent the passing of the Shereefian Empire, any more than the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 save the Constitutional movement in Persia from being crushed out. It would have been idle, if not worse, for a publicist urging on the authorities a policy of caution and conciliation, to disguise the unfortunate fact that these events, together with the more recent results of the Turco-Italian and the first Balkan Wars, had left a certain soreness, a sense of dismay, on the Mahomedan mind. It looked as though the European Powers had set themselves to achieve the political extinction of Islam. In the light of the vivid words of Mr. Ameer Ali we have already cited, the

reader will see that it could not have been otherwise. What, then, was the duty of Indian Moslems in view of the complications threatening from the extreme tension of Anglo-Ottoman relations? That, wrote Mr. Mohamed Ali, "is a simple question, and presents to us no difficulty":

"He who goes by principles and not by consequences should have not the slightest hesitation in answering it. We have of our free will and as masters of our destinies chosen to remain in this country as the subjects of our King and Emperor and the fellow-citizens of our neighbours. We have done this because the benefits of his rule and their co-operation exceed whatever discomforts we may have felt at any time or we may be likely in future to feel. * * * Every other consideration is foreign to the subject, and whether we fight the Turks or the Russians, our services we must place at the disposal of our Government and our souls we must commend to God."

That represents, in principle, the familiar political creed of the Mussalmans of India, as evolved under the inspiration of their great leader, Sir Syed Ahmad. As it has long been known to, and accepted by, the Government of India, it is hard to see why its recapitulation should have been penalized—unless, indeed, the District Magistrate of Delhi had private objections to Mr. Mohamed Ali and his compatriots "commending their souls to God"!

True, the editor of the *Comrade* urged the voluntary evacuation of Egypt by England. Although that was in September, the pathetic detachment from the realities of British Imperialism which the suggestion revealed ought, in our judgment, to have made the writer an object of curiosity rather than coercion on the part of the bureaucracy. But the practicability of the suggestion apart, what here is the principle involved? The right of final decision and action rests, of course, with the Government, but no

less is the right of expression implicit in a free Press. Mr. Mohamed Ali merely voiced the general sense of his community. The article, moreover, closed on a sound and unexceptionable note :

“ But let us repeat that whatever England may do to Turkey or Egypt, our anchor holds. All truly loyal people have closed the chapter of civic controversy with the officials. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more seasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dreamt—if, for instance, the Moslem University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced, or even if self-government were to be conceded to us—we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes !”

Such was the article for which the security of the *Comrade* was declared forfeited, and a fresh maximum deposit of Rs. 10,000 demanded. As a consequence, the journal has stopped publication.

We have dealt with the case of the *Comrade* at some length, as it provides a convenient test of two things, which it is of the highest practical importance for the Home Government, and the British public generally, to realize. First, the authentic opinions of a great and loyal community in regard to Anglo-Islamic relations, and, secondly, the official attitude of Indian authorities to their responsible expression, at a time when feeling ran high and needed ventilation by an able and honest publicist. No plea of political exigency can very well be raised for the suppression of such views as we have cited. They

are above-board, and have their roots in that intellectual acceptance of the British connection, which, more than ever in these days of fervid flunkeyism, might be expected to commend itself to British statesmanship. Moreover, Great Britain is adding to her Islamic responsibilities: that imposes the obligation of an adequate comprehension and conciliation of Moslem sentiment on lines that will be enduring. The short-sightedness of the official policy being pursued in India is patent. It ought to be revised.

MORE QUATRAINS OF "OMAR KHAYYĀM "

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

These verses are line for line, and almost word for word, translations of the original Persian. The Translator has added nothing of his own, nor has he presumed to meddle with the thoughts or imagery of the Persian Poet.—J. P.

48.

Of those who make pure wine their care,
Of those who spend the night in prayer,
All are at Sea, none safe ashore ;
All sleep ; their sleep One watches o'er.

49.

Wisdom that seeking bliss doth stray
Repeats a hundred times a day—
"From Life fresh Life you cannot gain
Like herbs that plucked spring up again."

50.

The slaves of Wit and Logic fall
In squabbles over "None" and "All ;"
Go, dunce, prefer the grape-juice you
For fools crude grapes from raisins brew.

51.

No good my coming brought the Sphere,
My going adds no beauty here ;
From no one have my two ears heard
Wherefore my "come" and "go" occurred.

52.

In Love's path must effacement lie,
In Fate's fierce grip we all must die ;
Cup-bearer sweet, why tarry so ?
Water! To dust I soon must go !

53.

Now naught but joy in name remains—
New Wine's the friend mature one gains.
With merry hand the Winecup clasp,
There's nothing else within your grasp !

54.

The Pen writes on beyond recall,
Grief only turns the heart to gall ;
Anguish may through your whole life last
Nor by one drop increase your Past !

55.

O Heart, the lovesick seek no more !
Nor commerce hold with lover's lore ;
Frequent the thresholds of the poor—
There, p'raps, you'll find acceptance sure.

56.

The Stars the Vault of Heaven adorn,
They come and go—at times reborn—
In Heaven's high skirts—in depths of Earth—
God dies not ; Creatures come to birth.

57.

Some hypocrites, intent on Law,
'Twixt Flesh and Soul distinctions draw ;
The flagon on my head I'll bear
Just as the cocks their red combs wear.

58.

The Stars that people Heaven's high Vault
Have often given the wise men halt ;
Take care, nor lose the string of wit,
Guardians grow dizzy twisting it.

59.

I'm not the man "non est" to fear ;
Of life's two halves the sweeter's there !
Half-life God lent me here—and I
Restore it when I come to die.

60.

Life's phantom-caravan steals by ;
Enjoy the moments as they fly !
For Comrade's morrow why lament ?
Cup-bearer, Wine ! The night is spent !

61.

'Twas love of you this old head snared ;
If not, how came the wine-cup shared ?
Love killed Repentance reason-born ;
The robe of Patience Spring hath torn.

62.

Though Wine my honour's veil hath rent,
From Wine to part I'll ne'er consent ;
What better can the Vintners buy
Than what they sell, in doubt am I.

63.

At first such grace—such charm !—Ah why
With such allurements tranced was I ?
You now but strive to wound my heart,
What wrong did I that thus I smart ?

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SOME OF THE MILITARY CASTES OF THE INDIAN ARMY

BY COLONEL D. C. PHILLOTT

THIS short paper that I propose to read to you (illustrated by lantern-slides) touches on some only of the Indian races that are now fighting as gallantly in France as they have fought on our North-West Frontier in India, in Egypt, in China and elsewhere.

My reason for confining my remarks to these military castes is that I have served with all of them, and I have not served with the other races to be met with in Bombay and Madras, and so cannot speak of them from my own knowledge.

Before describing them in detail, I will refresh your memories with a few historical facts.

From the earliest records of Indian history we learn that there were two races struggling for the soil: one a fair-complexioned Aryan race that spoke Sanskrit, and the other a dark-skinned race or races of lower type that uttered horrible yells—*i.e.*, they did not speak Sanskrit. The dark-skinned races were driven into the hills, or else in the plains were reduced to servitude.

The Aryans spread and colonized; they gradually resolved themselves into four classes or castes. (The word "caste" is derived from the Portuguese *casta*, or family.) These were: (1) The Brahman; (2) the Kshatriya—that is to say, Rājput or governing and military caste:

the Kshatrīs of Oudh call themselves Thākūrs, while those of Rājputāna and the Punjab Himalayas style themselves Rājputīs; (3) the Vaisyas, or trading and agricultural caste; and (4) the Sūdras, or menial caste, composed of captured aborigines, or the mixed progeny of Aryans and aborigines.

In those early days the lines of separation between the three first were not sharply defined.

There are traditions of a great struggle between the Brahmans and the Kshatrīs. The former were victorious, but many of the Aryan tribes rejected the theory of Brahman superiority. Some tribes had adopted the principle of caste, while others had adopted it in a modified form only.

Next arose Buddhism, which was really a reaction against Brahminism. Then Brahminism once more re-established its sway.

During the period between the rise and fall of Buddhism, India was invaded by Greeks, by Bactrians, and by Scythians.

Then came the Muhammadans. The *Hijrah*, or "Flight" from Mecca to Medina, took place in A.D. 622; within thirty years the warriors of Islām had conquered Syria, Persia, and Egypt. A few years later they subdued the Afghans.

In A.D. 700 the Arabs first invaded Sindh. Later, India was overrun by the Afghans, Persians, and the Mongols or Mugals or Turks.

Now, before the Muhammadan invasion there were various Rājput kingdoms in existence, and the final success of the Muslim invaders was largely due to the dissensions and rivalries of the Hindu princes.

Many Rājputīs became converted to Islām, and married into the families of the conquering Muslims. Later, many Rājput Muslims turned Hindu again. There are thus, in the Punjab alone, many races and divisions of races; amongst the Hindus now there are endless castes.

I will now refer to *some* of the warlike castes to be found serving in the Indian Army at the present day.

DOGRAS

The effect of the Muslim invasion was to divide the Rājput States into two groups—those of Rājputāna and those of the Himalayas, such as Kangra, Jammu, etc. While the principalities of Rājputāna were repeatedly invaded and laid waste by the Afghans and Mongols, the hill States, with no rich cities to loot and no strong fortresses to be stormed, were left alone to raid each other. Owing to this isolation the Dogras' country is naturally the most essentially Hindu portion of the Punjab. In Kangra, the system of caste is nearer the state it was in when the Muslims first invaded the Punjab.

Fidelity to their immediate superior is one of the noble traits of the Rājput (and, I think, particularly of the Dogra Rājput) character.

We have three regiments composed entirely of Dogras. General H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir is Honorary Colonel of the 37th Dogras. There are about 2,500 Dogra Reservists (Infantry). Besides this, there are no other regiments Dogra companies or Dogra troops, for not all regiments are class regiments—*i.e.*, most regiments of cavalry and infantry have a mixed composition, and consist of separate troops or companies of Sikhs, Dogras, Pathāns, Punjab Hindus, Punjab Muslims, and so on.

There are Brahman and Rājput Dogras, not to mention other subdivisions. Again, there are the Dogras of the plains, who have special characteristics. One is often asked by a lady at dinner to explain *all the castes of India*. It would take a very well-informed man to explain all the ramifications of *one* caste.

The Dogras are generally of poor physique, but they are perhaps the *coolest* of all our Indian troops; they do not get excited under fire. They are faithful, obedient, gentle, honest, and very courageous. They are rather penurious

—i.e., they will in a regiment underfeed themselves to save money. They are rather truthful, but very litigious.

Like all high-caste Hindus, they look on fowls and eggs as unclean, but I fancy water-fowl are excepted. They are keen sportsmen.

GURKHAS

Gurkhās are hill-men inhabiting Nepaul. Some classes, at any rate, claim descent from Rājput immigrants, but from their features it is evident they have Mongolian blood. After three campaigns against them we made a treaty with them which has been kept.

They prefer the society of Europeans to that of other Easterns. They are Hindus, but are not strict in matters of eating and drinking. They will give the British soldier a drink out of their water-bottles. They are fond of games, and fishing and shooting. Their national weapon is the *kukri*, a curious-shaped knife.

I have seen Gurkhās chop off young buffaloes' heads with the *kukri* with one blow, without the contented expression on the buffalo's face being disturbed. The guillotine must be a merciful instrument.

Though not very strict Hindus, they are superstitious. It is on record that the beautiful wife of a certain Raja of Nepaul contracted smallpox. The Raja vowed tons of milk and butter and sweetmeats to the Gods, if they would cure her. She recovered, and demanded a mirror. When she saw her disfigurement, she killed herself. The Raja fell into a passion, and had all his Gods set up in a row outside his walls. Opposite them he ranged his artillery. He first abused the Gods to his heart's content, and reminded them of all the milk and sweets he had given them. He then ordered the guns to open fire. Some of the senior officers, horrified at the sacrilege, rushed shrieking away; but, after a few gunners had been cut down, the guns opened fire, and the Gods were blown to bits. It was a fine bit of iconoclasm.

Gurkhās naturally enlist in the infantry only. They are

formed into class regiments, and are always quartered in hill-stations. They are exceedingly good in the hills, and will march in extended order along a very steep hillside, as fast as an ordinary Englishman can march on the flat crest.

PUNJABI MUHAMMADANS

These are not one race, but a collection of races. They are amongst our best fighting classes. It would take too long to deal with each particular race. They are descendants of Arabs, Pathāns, Persians, Moguls, Balūchis, and other invaders.

JĀTS

According to some authorities the Jāts are Aryans, but according to others they are Indo-Scythians. It may be that the original Rajput and the original Jāt entered India at different periods. It seems pretty certain that the joint Jāt-Rājput race contains some tribes of aboriginal descent. The distinction between the modern Jāts and Rajputs is probably social rather than ethnological. Rajputs *used* to take jātm wives, but intermarriage is now impossible.

Certain Jat tribes were converted to Islam, but, being a conquered race of no political importance, they were looked down upon by the Pathāns, Moguls, etc., who seized their lands and forced them to become nomads. Hence, in some parts, Jāt has become a term for grazier or herdsman. Balūchis contemptuously style all cultivators who were not Baluchis as Jāts; and the proverbs of Pathāns and Balūchis are full of contemptuous references to Jāts or Hindkis. "Get round a Pathan by coaxing, but heave a clod at a Hindkī," is one of them.

The agricultural population of Rājputāna is largely composed of Hindu Jāts, who, as a rule, are more prosperous than their Rājput masters.

The Pindāris, the robbers that devastated Rājputāna and Central India from 1805 to 1806, were largely recruited from Jāts, and their famous leader Chetu was a Jāt.

The Magyars and Jāts are said to be strangely alike.

I should have stated earlier that the word for caste in Sanskrit is *barna* ("colour"). It is interesting to note that Hindus divide horses into the four great castes. The sweat of the Brahman horse, it is said, smells like sandalwood, but that of the Sudra like fish.

SIKHS

The Sikhs (or *Sikhs*, as they call themselves) are, or were, a military order of Hindu dissenters. Though not originally a special race, they have practically become one.

The term is derived from the verb *sikhṇā*, "to learn." Vowels are often shortened in the Punjab, so *Sikh* becomes *Sikh*, just as *Jāt* becomes *Jāt*. *Sikh* means "disciple," and *Jāt Sikh* is the Jāt, or cultivator, Sikh.

The Guru, or spiritual leader of the Sikhs, was Bāba Nānak, who was born at Talwandi, near Lahore, in 1469. He preached throughout North-West India, and also visited Meccah. He was succeeded by nine other Gurus.

In its *origin*, Sikhism had much in common with Buddhism. Both Buddha and Nānak revolted against the bigotry and arrogance of a privileged priesthood. Buddha lived in the centre of Hindu India, among the many divinities of the Brahmans. These he rejected as false, but could give no substitute. Nanak was born in the borderland of Hinduism and Islām, and, like the great Prophet Muḥammad, taught that there was one God, but that God was neither Allah nor Parmeshwar, but the God of the Universe and of all religions, and that all men were alike in His eyes. Nānak believed in transmigration, as do most Hindus, but held that successive stages were a means to purification. He neither despised nor attacked the Hindu and Muslim teachers. His doctrine was gentle—unlike that of the ninth Guru, the Guru Govind Singh. Both these Gurus have followers.

The second Guru engaged in politics, and was the cause of a Muslim persecution of the sect. Eventually, under Tegh Bahadur, the Sikhs became mere marauders, and

levied contributions alike from rich Hindus and Muslims. Tegh Bahādur was executed by the Moguls. Three men of the Sweeper caste went to Delhi, and at great risk bore off the corpse of the Master from the midst of a fanatical Muslim crowd. As a reward, they were, by Guru Govind Singh, admitted into the Khālsa, or the "Community of God's Elect," and were given the title of *Mazhabī*, or "faithful." It is from the descendants and converts of these that the Pioneer Regiments are chiefly recruited.

We now come to Govind Singh, the last of the Gurus. He was only fifteen when his father was tortured and martyred by the Muguls. For some years he went into seclusion and brooded over his wrongs. He then emerged and became accepted as a Teacher. The Hindu goddess Durgā appeared to him, and demanded as an offering the head of one of his sons. The mothers of his sons refused to surrender their offspring. Then five of Govind's friends offered themselves for sacrifice.

Perceiving the disunion caused by caste distinctions, Guru Govind Singh proclaimed the equality of all members of the *Khālsa*. The higher castes murmured, but the lower flocked to his standard. He gave them as the outward sign of their faith the unshaven hair and certain other signs; and they were initiated by the sprinkling of water with a two-edged dagger. (The followers of Babā Nānak, however, are distinguished by no outward sign. They are frequently *Munā*, or "shaven," and are even permitted the use of tobacco.) His teaching was much like Nanak's; but, while Nānak substituted holiness of life for vain ceremonies, Govind Singh demanded brave deeds and devotion to the faith; and also he preached undying hatred against his Muslim persecutors. Thus a religious movement set on foot by Nānak to draw Sikhs and Muslims together, ended in the bitterest mutual animosity.

The life of Guru Govind Singh was spent in petty wars against the Hill Rājputs and the Muslim Governors of the Emperor. Two of his children were captured and buried

alive. Gobind Singh was at length assassinated by an Afghan horse-dealer.

His place was taken by a disciple, who was eventually torn to pieces with red-hot pincers after he had been forced to kill his own son.

It must be recollected that as long as the Sikhs were merely a religious body they were not molested, but when banded together for political purposes the Muguls took alarm.

In 1739 the Persians, under the famous Nadir Shāh, marched through the Punjab. The Sikhs were fast reviving from the brutal treatment meted out to their fathers, so they robbed both the invaders and the refugees.

All the great Sikh families owe their origin to the power of the sword. Every Sikh chief tried to attract followers who could ride and fight, no matter what their antecedents were. Every village became a fort. The word "neighbour" meant enemy. Men tilled the soil with a matchlock across their shoulders.

In 1797 Zamān Shah brought an army from Kabul and secured Lahore. He was recalled by troubles nearer home. He made over the city to the son of a Sikh Sirdar named Ranjit Singh.

The Sikhs stuck to the English during the Mutiny. Sikhs helped in the famous defence of the house at Arrah.

Sikhism, like Islam, is open to all classes, and includes amongst its followers many races and castes.

As Sikhs have settled in definite districts, they have practically become a race.

The Sikh of to-day has departed a good deal from his original faith, and has returned somewhat to Hinduism.

Guru Govind Singh forbade smoking, as it encouraged gossiping and idleness. His followers do not smoke, though they drink rather more instead.

Superstitious Sikhs believe in a certain number of malevolent dead. The *Gayāts* are the dead that have had no son. *Bhūts* and *Churels* are men and women who have

died violent deaths. Sweepers, if buried mouth upwards, always become *Bhūts*. The little whirlwinds of dust that we call "devils" are *Bhūts* going to bathe in the Ganges. *Bhūts* have a trick of jumping down the throat of a yawner, particularly if he has just eaten sweets. Hindus put the hand to the mouth when yawning, and repeat the name of Narāyan.

Prets are the ghosts of the deformed and crippled, and sometimes of people who have not been dead for a year.

Sikhs, like most Hindus, are frugal and practical. Muhammadans are spenders. Sikh women are scarce and valuable. Perhaps this is the reason that a Sikh woman can never get a divorce, no matter how badly her husband treats her. Female infanticide has disappeared. There is frequently only one wife in a family, and polyandry is suspected.

PATHANS

Roughly speaking, Pathan is the name given to the Pushtu-speaking Muslim tribes on the North-West Frontier. They are divided into tribes or clans, each a separate democracy. They have a peculiar Code of Honour, and the Vendetta is rife. Enemies will often serve side by side in the same regiment, but across the border the feud is revived. Pathans are excellent companions, have a keen sense of humour, and are good mimics. They can imitate to perfection the cries of certain animals--notably the jackal.

They are particularly good on the hillside. They enlist in both the cavalry and the infantry, but are rarely good horse-masters.

They are great swaggerers and fond of dress. A Pathan going courting with a rose behind his ear looks the devil of a fellow.

In some tribes there is a system by which, after a given period, all families move round, changing their lands, so that each in turn occupies the more fertile lands in the valleys, and each has his turn of the less-watered tracts on the hillsides.

Every village has its guest-house, in which a traveller is put up for a recognized period.

Pathāns are fond of shooting, coursing, hunting, ram-fighting, and quail-fighting.

Some Pathān tribes are undoubtedly of Hebrew origin. The Afridi tribe became Muslims in the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazni.

MAHARĀṬṬAS AND DAKKANĪ MUSLIMS

The Deccan or Mahārāshtra was the last country to be subjugated by the Indian Aryans. Concerning the origin of the Maharāṭṭas there is considerable obscurity. Their language is of Sanskrit origin. They claim to be of Rājput descent and to be Kshatriyas. Their appearance suggests a mixed Aryan and Scythian descent. However, they rose to be a great people, and pushed the Muhammadans out of the Deccan.

In 1347 a certain Brahman had a menial servant named Zafar Khan, who was, of course, a Muslim. This servant revolted against the Emperor's cruelties, gathered together many Muslim and Hindu nobles, and defeated the royal troops. He founded a State in the Deccan, and a dynasty called Bahmani. These Bahmani Kings introduced foreign troops—*e.g.*, Persians, Tartars, Muguls, and Arabs—who married the women of the country, and from them are descended the Dakkanī Muhammadans. These have never been a nation like the Maharāṭṭas, and have no separate history.

Similarly, in the Punjab and elsewhere there are settlements of Afghans, Persians, Moguls, etc. Near Kohat there is a village called Qurayshī, after the Arab tribe to which the Prophet belonged. Its inhabitants speak Pushtu, but some of them are typical Arabs in appearance.

The founder of the Maharāṭṭa nation was the famous Shivaji, who about 1646 took possession of his first Muhammadan fort near Poona.

During the crisis of 1857 the Maharāṭṭas were loyal.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Monday, December 14, 1914, when a lantern lecture was delivered by Colonel D. C. Phillott entitled, "Some of the Military Castes of the Indian Army." General Sir Alfred Gascolee, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., occupied the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, D.C.L., Sir Frank Campbell Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, D.C.L. and Lady Fulton, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Surgeon-General Ewart, C.B., Lady Meiklejohn, Lady Barrow, L. M. Wynch, Esq., C.I.E., L.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mrs. Frank Harcastle, Miss Barrows, Mrs. and Miss Roberts, Mrs. Grey, Mr. and Mrs. Wilmot Corfield, Mrs. Corfield, Mr. and Mrs. Everatt, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mrs. Haigh, Mrs. Cass, Mrs. Harrop-Sidebottom, Miss Longdon, Mrs. Dennison Ross, Mrs. Knowles, Mr. E. H. Tattersfield, Mrs. Sheen, Mr. Stafford, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. Orme, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mrs. Anstey Bennett, Mrs. Archibald, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Henry A. Fletcher, Colonel W. T. Eden, Colonel W. F. Dundonald Cochrane, Colonel Presgrave, C.B., D.S.O., Mr. James Gregson, Miss Stewart, Mrs. Samuel, Miss Hallward, Miss Goad, Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, Miss Mallett, Miss E. Monckton Jones, Mr. Teja Singh, Miss Frere, Mr. K. S. Sauhta, The Rev. R. B. Ravenscroft, Mr. A. S. Ravenscroft, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. R. Sewell, Miss Norris, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Dr. Kapadia, Mr. W. H. Christie, Madame Duverge, Madame Decelle, Miss Johnston, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mrs. and Miss Blackett, Miss Blackwood, Miss Graeme, Miss Webster, Mrs. Furnell, Mrs. Macgauran, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Arthur Rogers, Miss Barron, Mr. A. H. Gray, Miss Wallace Smith, Miss Farquharson, Mr. and Miss Graham Sharp, Miss Phillott, Miss J. Phillott, Colonel Kilgour, Miss Payne, Dr. and Mrs. S. Daiches, Mr. K. S. Greenshields, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mrs. Carnell, Mrs. Meggitt, Dr. Kelland, Mrs. White, Miss Blenkinsop, the Rev. John MacInnes, Miss Bashford, Mr. R. Y. Henriques, Miss Wilson, Mrs. Squire, Mr. J. Catto, Mr. T. N.

Phillips, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Lady Blood, Mr. W. P. Blood, Miss Blood, Mr. E. J. Edwards, the Hon. Mrs. Yorke Bevan, Mr. Charles Hurst, Miss M. Pollen, Mr. G. Mansukhain, Mr. H. M. Hassanally, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mrs. Wilmot, Mrs. Bean, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mrs. Giffard, the Rev. W. and Mrs. Orr, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasing duty to introduce Colonel Phillott, the lecturer, who has so kindly arranged to speak to us on the various classes that compose the Indian Army. He is particularly well qualified for so doing, as he has himself served with most of the classes and races of India ; and, moreover, he has made a special study of the different languages of the country --in fact, so much so that, on his retirement, he has been selected to be Professor of Hindustani at Cambridge. I need say nothing further with regard to his qualifications.

The paper was then read.

[At the end of the first paragraph, on the 4th page of the Lecture with reference to the Dogras being very litigious, the Lecturer added the following comment :

To give an instance of a native lawsuit, which, he was informed, was pretty authentic : A sued B for driving away his cattle. B, in his defence, admitted driving away the cattle, but said that the reason he had done it was because they were eating his crops. When the case had been before the courts for three or four days, it was discovered by the authorities that A had never had any cattle and that B had never had any crops ! When B. was asked why he had made such an extraordinary statement in his defence, he replied : " Well, I knew that A had brought a large number of witnesses to swear that I had done what he alleged, and I thought the best defence I could make was to meet him with another allegation in my defence !";

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, after the interesting lecture we have just heard and the excellent pictures we have been shown, there does not seem very much for me to say further. I think it is a very happy thought of the East India Association to have got Colonel Phillott to lecture to us on this subject at this particular time. We, for the first time in our history, have the Indian Army serving side by side with ours in Europe, and it is undoubtedly a very memorable occasion both for the British race and for the Indian race, and it will no doubt have very wide results in the future which we cannot at present see. However, whatever comes, there is the fact. Our Indian troops have responded ; the Maharajahs and the peoples of India have responded most nobly to the call of Empire, and it now behoves us to do all we can to make the troops happy and comfortable during the time they are serving with us in Europe. It may not be quite the right time for an appeal to the public, but I should just like to mention now the Indian Soldiers Fund as I happen to be a member of the committee. The fund is still open, and its advertisements appear regularly in the columns of the *Times*. However, that is only a side point.

There is one other point I should like to make a remark upon in connection with the Indian troops, which the lecturer did not touch upon, and that is that most—in fact all—of the men who enlist in our service in India are men of a high class. They are mostly yeomen who own a certain amount of land, and perhaps in a family there are two or three brothers, of which one or two remain on the land and one or two serve the State. As a general rule, amongst the classes of India who enter into our service there are considered to be two honourable callings—one is agriculture and the other is the service. The result is that for a comparatively small outlay the Government have a remarkably fine body of well-born men. I do not suppose there is any other service in the world in which the same class of men serve so freely for so very little remuneration, and I am quite sure all those present who have served in India will bear me out in what I say in that respect. There is one other point I ought to mention, and that is that, speaking to an audience, many of whom have served in India, we may perhaps be allowed to congratulate ourselves upon the fact that as many of us have spent our lives in the service, whether civil, political or military service, it is with a certain amount of pride and gratification we see the wonderful rilly that has been made to the call of Empire. (Hear, hear.) I feel that we may all justly pride ourselves on this fact, and we may look back on our service in that country with a feeling that we have at any rate done our best in the past.

I now call on anyone who would like to address the meeting to do so, and I will first of all call upon Mr. Syud Hossain to speak.

MR. SYUD HOSSAIN: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I confess I was rather taken aback by the Chairman's comment, because this is a subject on which I know very little. Like the rest of you, I have been very much edified and amused by the excellent lecture to which we have just listened. The Lecturer seems to have a fund of racy anecdotes at his command, and if some of them have lost their virgin bloom in course of service, they have, at any rate, retained their innocence. (Laughter.) At the same time, I should like to say that while very often it may be the case that a spicy anecdote serves to show up as in a flash some national characteristic or trait better almost than a treatise on the subject, still it would be a very unsafe criterion to judge of national traits and characteristics exclusively in the light of anecdotes. At the very best they can only express half-truths, and for those who are not otherwise informed as regards the characteristics and habits of the people, it is just as well to take those anecdotes "with a grain of salt"—with mental reservations. Otherwise very much the same sort of thing might happen as must have happened to a very considerable section of the British public when they saw in one of the leading papers an excellent and vivid account of some of the fighting going on in France, describing an action in which the Gurkhas took part, where the correspondent went on to say that the Gurkhas made short work of the Germans with their "curry"! Those who were familiar with "curry," but not initiated into the mysteries of the "kukri," must have run away with the idea that the Gurkhas had time to sit down and ply the Germans with their

curry, making short work of them in that way ! That illustrates the danger of relying too much on anecdote.

For the rest, of course, no one could have listened to the lecture without acquiring a fresh insight into the lives, and an access of interest in the welfare, of the Indian soldiers. I should just like to add this. I feel sure that the Indians present here to-day must have found themselves in complete agreement with the sentiments to which expression was given by our Chairman to-day. (Hear, hear.) We have listened to his tribute to the Indian Army. Like every one of those officers who have had occasion to come intimately into contact with the Indian soldiery, in common with men like Lord Roberts, whose loss we have all been lamenting, and many others, who have invariably formed the highest opinion both as to the character and the capacity of the Indian soldiery, he has testified his personal appreciation. (Hear, hear.) And when you are considering soldiers and their ways, it is important to remember that a soldier has got to be judged by the standards and qualities and attributes needed by the soldier, and not by the particular cut of his beard, or the decorative properties of his turban. (Hear, hear.)

COLONEL VALL, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and to their chairman, said that they had all enjoyed the treat the Lecturer had given them, and he was delighted to see such a full room. Although he had never had the pleasure of meeting Colonel Phillott before, he well remembered in the old days at Quetta when the Lecturer was Consul at Kirman in Persia, how he used to look forward to receiving the copy of his printed diary, which was always full of amusing and interesting information, and he was sure they would be able to judge for themselves how his depiction of life and character in Persia in those days was as faithfully represented as he had represented to them that afternoon the life and character of the soldiery of the various races in India.

As to the Chairman, he thought they were lucky to have him amongst them. He had spent all his life amongst the various races that formed the army in India, and they could not have had a better man to take the Chair. When they thought of what the Indian Army was doing for them now (hear, hear), all old Indians must rejoice to see the sphere of Indian service so vastly enlarged from what it was, when they first went there. The Indian troops were not only fighting for the Empire in France and Belgium, but they had shared in the capture of Tsingtau in China and were at work defending our possessions in East Africa, and one heard of them capturing forts in the Red Sea, and they had already defeated the Turks at Fau, Basrah, and Kurna at the head of the Persian Gulf ; the last report of them was that the Bikaner Camel Corps had repelled a raid upon Egypt, and it was impossible to know in how many other places they might not be employed hereafter. In the days of the Emperor Aurangzib the Maharajah of Joolpur of that time had led his Rajputs in triumph to Kabul, which was then probably the furthestmost limits of the Indian political horizon, but now under the agis of the British Government the political horizon of India had vastly expanded, and the whole of the Empire was now open to Indian troops. He was sure they all welcomed

most heartily and cordially the partnership and comradeship of the Indian soldiers throughout the Imperial sphere; the whole Empire was indeed grateful to them.

In conclusion, with those few remarks, he would ask them to join with him in a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman. (Hear, hear).

SIR ROBERT FULTON, in seconding the proposition, said they were all very much obliged to the Lecturer for the very instructive and amusing lecture he had given them. Those of them who had been in India were delighted to renew their acquaintance with the sepoy, and those who had not been there must have had a double pleasure in making his acquaintance for the first time, even in a photographic slide. The Lecturer was not a member of their Association, and he had been exceedingly kind in giving the lecture. He had known him for many years, and he could tell them that he was a many-sided man. He was not only well acquainted with languages, but he had been an infantry officer as well as a cavalry officer. He had been a Consul in Persia for some time, and had then devoted himself to the manufacture of carpets, in which he beat the record, because he had himself said that he turned out some of the worst carpets that were ever made in Persia! Colonel Phillott was also a great sportsman, and the particular form of sport he was addicted to was hawking. This sport, although obsolete in this country, was still kept up in India and Egypt, and it was an extremely interesting sight to see the hawk thrown off by the servant, then rise in the sky and look about, and then, when he saw his prey, dart off and swoop down upon his quarry and kill it.

When Sir Arundel Arundel and he were looking out for a Secretary to the Board of Examiners in Calcutta, the name of Colonel Phillott was mentioned to them by Sir Bindon Blood. He did not know anything about Colonel Phillott at that time, so he went to Sir John Hewitt and asked him if he knew him, and he replied: "Certainly, he is the man who knows more about hawking than any man in India." He said they did not want him to go hawking; did he know anything about Oriental languages? "Oh yes," said Sir John, "he knows them very well, but what he is really good at is hawking!"

With regard to the particular weapon used by the Gurkhas, the *kakri*, they were very expert in its use, and applied it to every imaginable purpose, from picking their teeth to chopping off the head of a German. It reminded him of a story he saw in the papers the other morning with reference to the Gurkhas now engaged at the Front, where a Gurkha went out one day and met one of the enemy, attacking and disarming him and making him prisoner; he was bringing him into camp when unfortunately the Gurkha was shot in the leg, but it was stated that he mounted upon the back of the German and rode him into camp. He was quite sure the Gurkha must have used the *kukri* for the purpose of urging and guiding along his prisoner—in the same way as the elephant drivers drive elephants in India with their elephant-goad, or *ankus*.

Another story with reference to the Lecturer before he concluded. One day Colonel Phillott got a beautiful sword made by a well-known English manufacturer—he would mention no names—and he went down to the

factory to see it tested. He took it out with him to India, and one day was vaunting its excellence to an Indian gentleman, who smiled and said they thought nothing in India of English steel, and that Indian steel was much better. Colonel Phillott said: "Oh no, just look at this," and he banged the sword on the table—and it broke in two at once! The Indian gentleman kept on smiling! He was afraid it was true that Indian was much superior to English steel.

In conclusion, he would ask them to join heartily in the vote of thanks to their distinguished chairman and the lecturer. The motion on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, in replying, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am extremely obliged to you all. I think we may say at any rate that this lecture has effectually disposed of the fiction that there are only Gurkhas and Sikhs in the Indian army.

The proceedings then terminated.

WELLS FOR IRRIGATION IN INDIA

By E. A. MOLONA, F.R.S.

It seems hardly necessary to enlarge on the theme that over the greater portion of India there is no greater necessity for the improvement of agriculture than the provision of means for artificial irrigation. There are a few tracts, such as Bengal, Assam, Burma (excluding the dry zone), and the strip of country between the Western Ghats and the sea, where the rainfall is so copious and certain that irrigation is not necessary, but elsewhere artificial irrigation is the great necessity of agriculture.

The three great sources of irrigation are canals, wells, and natural lakes and ponds.

The triumphs of our canal engineers have been so magnificent, and the results so splendid, that there is, I fear, a tendency, at any rate in England, to consider that the word irrigation connotes canals and practically nothing else.

I think, therefore, that it will not be out of place to draw attention to the fact that well irrigation has an importance to the cultivator little, if at all, inferior to that of canal irrigation. If we consider that the modern system of canals is a work, so to speak, of yesterday, while an immense capital has annually been sunk in wells for at least two thousand years, it will be apparent that the mere fact that we hear less about wells than about canals is no reason for neglecting their vast possibilities.

The subject of wells is not one that lends itself to treatment, in a spectacular way, and perhaps our feelings of self-esteem tend to concentrate our attention on the canal system, which is certainly the creation of our own engineers and Western methods, to the exclusion of wells, which are, in the main, the creation of Indian brains, energy, and capital.

Moreover, till lately, Western engineers in India had much to learn from, and nothing to teach, the humble Indian well-sinker.

In proof of my proposition that the well irrigation is fairly comparable with canal irrigation in importance, I give the following :

AREAS OF IRRIGATION FROM EACH SOURCE

The area irrigated by canals in British India was, in 1911-12, 17,077,043 acres. It is strange, but true, that the area irrigated in any particular year from wells is not ascertainable. I am, therefore, reduced to quoting from paragraph 154 of the Report of the Irrigation Committee of 1903, which gives the number of permanent wells as 1,669,280, and the area irrigated as 13 million acres, and says : "The great importance of wells as sources of irrigation may be gathered from the fact that they supply water to more than one-fourth of the total irrigated area, and their immense value in years of drought from the fact that in the famine year of 1896-97 the area under well irrigation rose at once by nearly 2½ million acres, while that under tanks fell by nearly 1½ million."

Furthermore, it must be remembered---(a) That there are only a few tracts where wells compete with canals. (b) That there are many places so situated that canal water can never be brought to them owing to the lie of the land. (c) That the supplies of water for canals are limited ; that they are insufficient to irrigate the whole area that the canals can command, and that in the near future, let us say in fifty or one hundred years, every canal that is possible

will have been constructed. (*d*) That excessive use of canal water has two ill-effects--(i.) It removes the necessity for the cultivator to till the land thoroughly in order to conserve the natural moisture ; (ii.) it has a tendency to saturate the subsoil and raise the level of the subsoil water, which will in time, unless checked, in many places cause the salts contained in the soil to rise to the surface by capillary action, and thus render the land uncultivable. (*e*) That there are certain areas in which irrigation from wells is at present impossible. These are--(i.) Tracts in which there is no water in the subsoil within any reasonable depth ; and (ii.) tracts where the water is so far from the surface that the cost of lifting it becomes prohibitive. This depth may be put at 60 feet for bullock power, and 20 feet for human power.

Taking all these facts into consideration, the common-sense policy would seem to be to give localities where well irrigation is physically impossible the first claim to canal water ; to economize canal water in tracts where well irrigation is also possible (provided, of course, that the water so saved can profitably be used elsewhere) ; and, lastly, to push on the construction of wells in those tracts which are not commanded by canals, but in which wells can be made.

I think I have now made evident the immense importance of well irrigation in India, and can proceed direct to my subject. I must apologize for the inclusion of some technicalities in the paper, but I have endeavoured to reduce them to the absolute minimum necessary for the proper comprehension of the subject.

CLASSIFICATION

The first broad division it is possible to make in the classification of wells in India is the division into wells in rock and wells in alluvial soil.

WELLS IN ROCK

Apart from their use for the supply of water for domestic purposes, wells in rock are, comparatively speaking, of small importance, because in the country where they are made, water for agricultural purposes can ordinarily be more economically supplied by damming up depressions or small valleys so as to store up the rainfall in ponds or lakes. I purpose therefore to say no more on the subject of wells in rock.

WELLS IN ALLUVIAL SOIL

We now come to the wells in alluvial soil. By alluvial soil I mean alluvial deposits of a geologically recent age which have been subject to little or no disturbance since their deposition. In such soil the strata are nearly or quite horizontal, and the sands and clays have not yet been compacted into rock. The normal subsoil in such alluvium consists of layers of sand, clay, or loam alternating with each other, and with occasional belts of nodular limestone ("kunkur").

RESERVOIRS OF WATER IN ALLUVIAL SOIL

In such soil the only sources of water that merit consideration consist of beds of sand. The interstices of the grains of sand are filled with water. The amount of water which can be so held is very considerable, amounting in the case of many clean homogeneous sands to over 25 per cent. of the whole volume of the sand. Thus a sand-bed 10 feet thick underlying an acre of land would hold sufficient water to flood the whole acre to a depth of 30 inches.

SUFFICIENT WATER FOR IRRIGATION ALMOST EVERYWHERE
EXISTENT IN THE SUBSOIL OF THE ALLUVIAL PLAINS

The conditions of the subsoil vary enormously in different places, but it is a fairly safe statement that there are only a comparatively few places where, within 150 feet of the

surface, there are not sand-beds aggregating 10 feet in thickness.

It follows that almost everywhere in the great alluvial plains of India there is stored within the subsoil, at a depth of less than 150 feet, enough water to flood the surface to a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Now, half or two-thirds this amount of water properly distributed would suffice to raise magnificent crops without any rainfall at all.

It is also a fact that if there is a sand-bed within 150 feet it is, with modern methods of boring, comparatively easy to reach it.

We therefore deduce the fact that almost everywhere in the great alluvial plains there is within reach sufficient water to mature the crops even without any rain for a whole year.

WHY THE EXISTING SOURCES OF WATER ARE NOT AVAILABLE FOR IRRIGATION

But, as we know, the crops over large areas in the alluvial plains fail in a year of drought, and we are led to inquire the reason why they should fail with sufficient water so near.

There are two answers. The first is that the cultivators in some places have not sufficient labour or cattle to undertake the tremendous task of raising the water to the surface; and the second is that in some places, though the water is there, there are physical difficulties which prevent it being made available for irrigation.

The first answer raises the question of mechanical power for raising water, to which I shall revert later.

STATEMENT AND EXPLANATION OF THE PHYSICAL DIFFICULTIES

The second answer raises the question of physical difficulties.

The difficulty may be stated to be the difficulty of separating the water from the sand.

To render myself intelligible, let us suppose that a well has been dug from the surface till it enters a bed of sand holding water, and that the sides of the well have been lined with masonry. Water will percolate into the well through the sand at the bottom. Pure water can be drawn out of the well by letting down a bucket. If the water is baled out, fresh water will flow in as long as there is any left in the sand-bed.

It might be supposed that the problem of water for irrigation is thus solved; but, unfortunately, in the majority of cases it is not, because a well of this kind will usually not supply nearly enough water for irrigation purposes.

It is found by experience that as soon as more than a very moderate discharge is taken from the well the sand at the bottom acts as if it were a quicksand. The sand soon rises into the well, the foundations are undermined, and the masonry cylinder sinks, and often cracks and falls into ruins.

The reason is that the flow of the water vertically upwards through the sand at the bottom of the well sets up friction, which increases with any increase in the velocity of the water, so that when the velocity reaches a certain point, friction neutralizes the weight of the sand. As soon as the velocity exceeds that limit, the sand rises bodily with the water.

Sands, of course, differ. Coarse and heavy sand gives a much bigger discharge than fine and light sand, and it is probably no exaggeration to say that the coarse and heavy sands so commonly met with in Southern India can give on an average at least ten times as great a discharge as the fine micaceous sand commonly met with in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Where the sands are coarse and heavy and the water is near the surface, the needs of agriculture can be and are met by wells of great diameter; but where the sand is fine

or the water level far from the surface, the expense becomes prohibitive.

In many places, however, Nature has afforded man facilities for obtaining copious supplies even from very fine and unpromising sand.

Where a firm stratum of clay or nodular limestone is found superimposed on water-bearing sand, conditions are favourable for wells.

The masonry cylinder is taken down to the firm foundation afforded by the clay or limestone, after which a hole is bored down to the sand below. The pressure of the water in the sand forces large quantities of sand into the well, which is then cleared by dredging. A cavity, often of great area, is thus formed under the clay, which not only acts as a roof to the cavity, but also supports the well cylinder.

The discharge of water into the well is limited not by the small area of the bottom of the well, but by the large area of sand exposed in the cavity underneath the clay.

The result is the same as if a well of enormous diameter had been sunk through the clay on to the sand below at a cost many times greater than that of the well of moderate diameter actually sunk.

Such wells have been termed "spring wells," because they draw their supply through a single hole through the impervious layer on which the well is founded.

The clay has been termed the "foundation clay."

Open bottom wells which draw their supply by infiltration through the sandy bottom into which the foundations have been sunk have been termed "percolation wells."

CLASSIFICATION OF WELLS IN ALLUVIAL SOIL INTO "SPRING" WELLS AND "PERCOLATION" WELLS

Thus, wells in alluvial soil may be subdivided into "spring" wells and "percolation" wells.

THE SPRING WELL TRACT

In tracts where spring wells can usually be made, the natives of India have from time immemorial very largely utilized the bounty of Nature, and sunk many hundreds of thousands of spring wells.

WHAT IS BEING DONE FOR THE SPRING WELL TRACT

Within the last few years, moreover, the provincial agricultural departments have made available to the cultivators the resources of engineering science in the matter of boring for water.

In two particular matters their efforts have been successful. The first is in prospecting for wells by determining by means of trial borings the depth at which the foundation clay will be found, and the second is in improving existing wells giving a short supply by tapping a lower foundation clay by means of boring.

In the spring well tract work has now passed beyond the experimental stage, and all that need be said is that the agricultural departments have only to press on with the work in hand as energetically as possible.

THE PERCOLATION WELL TRACT

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the percolation well tracts, and so far the agricultural departments have been able to do very little to develop irrigation by encouraging the construction of more efficient wells, for the very good reason that much more experiment is necessary before a really satisfactory type of percolation well can be designed.

STATEMENT OF THE DIFFICULTY OF THE PROBLEM

As this problem is one of enormous importance to agriculture in India, I purpose to examine it in some detail.

The difficulty of the problem is due to the fact before mentioned, that the sand on which the well foundations rest

acts like a quicksand as soon as the velocity of the water flowing through it exceeds a certain rate, depending on the coarseness and the specific gravity of the sand.

In some parts of India, notably in the south, the sand is so good that percolation wells are both commonly used and efficient.

In other parts of India, notably the Western Punjab, where the sand is moderately good, percolation wells are commonly used, but cannot be considered really efficient, as they are very expensive, if the somewhat limited amount of water which they can supply is taken into consideration.

In other parts of India, notably the United Provinces, hardly any percolation wells give sufficient water to enable bullocks to be employed.

Moreover, in the whole of India there are few, if any, percolation wells that would not fall into ruins in a few hours if a six-horse-power engine were employed to lift the water to the surface.

It is clear that the importance of the problem is enormous. Various attempts have been made in the past to solve the problem, with, I fear, only partial success.

These may be classified into attempts to restrain the sand by gravity or by filters.

TYPES OF FILTER WELLS

I take the filter wells first.

(a) Attempts have been made to make the cylinders porous by setting the masonry or portions of it dry—*i.e.*, without mortar; but these have failed because the sand gets so tightly packed round the cylinder that the amount of water passed into the well has proved to be very small.

(b) I understand that some engineers are in favour of loading the sand at the bottom with ballast, thereby making an inverted filter-bed. This deserves an exhaustive trial. Personally, I do not expect success, because the natives of India are extremely skilled in the matter of

irrigation wells, and would almost certainly have discovered such a simple solution.

(c) Abyssinian driven tube wells with metallic strainers. These do not give enough water for purposes of irrigation.

(d) Convoluted tube wells. These are somewhat similar to the Abyssinian tube wells, but of much greater diameter, and sunk by a different system.

These have, I believe, been well reported on in the Punjab, but have not been successful in the United Provinces, where the sand is much finer.

PERCOLATION WELLS WITHOUT STRAINERS

As the sand in a percolation well is reduced to a quick-sand if the water flowing through it attains a certain definite speed, it is clear that the object to be aimed at is to obtain a greater area of sand exposed, so that the dangerous speed is not exceeded.

The most obvious solution is to increase the diameter of the well; but this is ruled out on the score of cost.

Two suggestions have been made—

1. Wells with weep-holes in the cylinder.
2. Hexagonal wells made of iron or wood, with *louvres* on each face of the hexagon, designed to pass water, but retain sand.

Some experiments were made some years ago at Cawnpore with several wells designed in accordance with the first idea, which showed that the yield of a well could be considerably increased; but the experiments were not carried out to their logical conclusion by the actual construction of a full-sized well for the actual irrigation of land. It is probable that the cost of such wells would be rather high, and that they would give some trouble in construction.

The idea was to admit sand and water from outside into a number of small chambers constructed in the thickness of the masonry steining, through which the water would rise vertically and flow into the well from the top of the

Wells for Irrigation in India

chambers, the sand being retained in its position by gravity.

The second idea endeavours, like the first, to provide an area of sand (in addition to that exposed at the bottom of the well) from which water will be able to percolate into the well.

One such well was made of wood, and actually sunk near Cawnpore, but was, I believe, never tested owing to changes in personnel and want of continuity in policy. It did, however, demonstrate the fact that such cylinders are sunk much more easily than might be expected.

I feel confident that such steinings, if properly designed and made in iron by suitable machinery, could be conveyed to the site, put together and sunk by any ordinary Indian well-sinker at a cost that would not be prohibitive, and that they would probably solve this most troublesome and difficult problem, and enormously increase the agricultural possibilities of many hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of acres of land.

A typical tract so situated is the submontane tract in Bihar and the United Provinces, which forms a typical percolation well tract. In years of drought it is impossible to save the rice, though water is, in most cases, only from 5 to 20 feet from the surface. Moreover, an enormous increase in the area of sugar-cane would be brought about if it were possible to irrigate the cane through the hot weather except by water laboriously lifted by human agency out of tiny temporary wells.

This is due to the want of efficient wells. A really cheap and efficient percolation well would probably revolutionize agriculture in this tract, enabling the rice crop to be saved (as it is in Madras) by pocottas, or else bullock power lifts working on wells.

In my opinion, a few hundreds or even thousands of pounds might very well be expended by the Government of India on the great quest of a cheap and practical percolation well.

A CHEAP AND PRACTICAL WELL

It is as well that I should explain what I mean by a cheap and practical well.

In the first place, such a well must give a discharge sufficient to furnish full work to a pair of bullocks employed in lifting the water. Speaking generally, this means a discharge of 1,500 gallons per hour.

In the second place, it must cost a minimum. Ordinarily, the cost should not exceed 1,500 rupees for each 1,500 gallons of water per hour. As labour and materials are cheap in India compared to England, we may say that such a well made in England should not cost more than £200 for each 1,500 gallons of water per hour.

INDIGENOUS WATER LIFTS

The water lifts in common use in India are worked either by men or by bullocks. Those worked by men are generally for short lifts only, whereas bullocks are generally used for working the longer lifts. When the lift exceeds 60 feet, the labour of lifting the water becomes very great, and lifts greater than this very seldom pay for the cost of keeping the very fine bullocks necessary.

I omit the hand power lifts used for lifting water up to about 5 feet out of lakes, ponds and those canals which flow slightly below the surface of the country, as they are not generally used on wells. The common hand power lifts used on wells are the "charkhi," the "dhenkal," and the "pocotta." The "charkhi" consists of two small buckets hung one at each end of a rope, which passes over a pulley at the well-head. As one bucket ascends full, the empty one descends, counterbalancing to some degree the weight of the ascending bucket. This system is generally used only on small and inefficient percolation wells.

In the "dhenkal" lift the bucket used for lifting the water is suspended from a rope fixed to the long arm of a counterpoised lever fixed at the well-head. The weight

of the counterpoise is so adjusted that the full bucket will rise of itself, the labourer at the well-head having to exert power to lower the empty bucket into the well. This lift is generally used on comparatively inefficient percolation wells of small or medium depth.

The "pocotta," which is chiefly used in Madras, is an improved "dhenkal," with a much larger bucket and a heavy counterpoised beam. One labourer empties the bucket at the well-head and one or more labourers stand on the beam, which works like a seesaw. To raise the bucket the labourers take a step or two backward towards the counterpoise, and, when their weight has raised the end of the lever to which the bucket is attached, they walk up the beam to depress the bucket to the water. This is probably the most efficient lift known for human power, because it uses the leg muscles instead of the arms for doing the work, while the loss from friction is very small indeed.

BULLOCK-POWER LIFT

These are of two sorts, the Persian wheel, and the water-bag pulled up by a rope which passes over a pulley at the well-head to a pair of bullocks, who pull down an inclined plane, and thus utilize their weight to lift the water.

The Persian wheel is by no means so efficient as the other (the "mot"), as there is much more loss by friction; but, on account of the even flow of water, and the fact that the buckets will not reach the water if the water-level in the well is too much depressed, it causes much less strain on a percolation well than the "mot," and it is therefore usually seen in the percolation well tract. Moreover, it requires a very capacious well in which to work.

For the converse reasons the "mot" is generally used in the spring well tract, as the wells are not so easily ruined, and do not require to be of great diameter to give the requisite discharge, while there is greater efficiency in the "mot," owing to the frictional losses being lower.

In the Persian wheel the bullocks are driven round and

round in a circle, and drive, through a very crude arrangement of cog-wheels, a drum suspended over the well on a horizontal axle. Over this drum passes an endless band, dipping into the water at its lower end. To this band are fixed a number of small water-pots, which come up full, and empty at the top into a trough which leads to the watercourse.

The losses from friction must be very great, and the labour is very monotonous, and therefore exhausting for the animals.

In the "mot" the only frictional loss is in one pulley, and the labour of the animals is less monotonous; the hard work of pulling down the slope is varied by the leisurely walk back, and often by a mouthful of provender from a feeding-trough at the top.

In Southern India the "mot" generally is so arranged that it empties itself at the top, whereas in Northern India this is generally done by a labourer. Each system has its advantages, but it would seem to be within the wit of man to combine them, especially now that the cost of labour is increasing everywhere.

MECHANICAL POWER FOR LIFTING WATER

There is no doubt that the time is rapidly approaching when there will be a demand for power lifts for pumping water from wells; but before this demand can be satisfied it is clear that there must be wells capable of affording full work for the engine. Among percolation wells it is certain that there are practically none now existent which would stand the strain. Among the spring wells it is probable that many would stand the strain, but that some would fail. Of all the rock wells few, if any, would supply sufficient water.

If a design for a percolation well could be invented that would supply water sufficient to give work for a small engine, it would be worth many times its weight in gold; but, in view of the failure to solve the more modest problem of

supplying work for one pair of bullocks, its solution (except where the sand is exceptionally good) must, I fear, not be expected for many years.

In any case experiment might very profitably be made at once to determine the conditions under which mechanical power could safely be used for pumping spring wells.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

The practical suggestions which I have to make are the following :

(1) That the Government of India should make a determined attack on the problem of the design of a really efficient percolation well ; (2) that the Government should also make experiments to determine the conditions under which mechanical power can safely be used to pump spring wells ; and, lastly (3) that when this has been done, the most suitable type of engine and pump should be determined.

I would add that such investigations do not promise any pecuniary profit to private persons or firms, for the reason that it would not be practicable to prevent piracy. It is therefore, essential that the Government should bear the cost of the experiments.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, January 18, 1915, a paper was read by Mr. E. A. Molony, I.C.S., entitled "Wells for Irrigation in India." The Right Hon. Lord Sydenham, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick S. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, F.R.S., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, Lady Sydenham, Mrs. Molony, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. T. Sumners, C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Vate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. Christy, Mr. N. J. Modi, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. L. G. Evans, Miss M. Ashworth, Miss Berridge, Mr. C. E. Goumet, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mrs. and Miss Barker, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mrs. Haigh, Miss Bromhead, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Surgeon General Ewatt, C.B., Professor Bickerton, Mr. A. Harvey, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. C. Liddell Simpson, Mr. Moreland, Mrs. W. F. Hamilton, Miss Hamilton, Mr. H. W. Wolff, Mr. H. R. Cook, Colonel Lewry, Miss Prendergast, Mr. Sampuran Singh, Miss Wade, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. Robert White, Mr. J. Cotton, Dr. B. H. Singh, Mr. G. Mansukhani, Mr. N. M. M. Bhownaggee, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is so long since I left school that I cannot remember who was the great Greek sage who bequeathed to us the words *απιστόν μὲν ὕδωρ*, but I think it was Herodotus. I am not sure, but I do not believe anyone who has not lived in India can understand the full and deep meaning of those words. The majority of the people of England draw all their water from a prosaic thing called a tap, and therefore they cannot have any idea of what the well means to the people of India. The village well is an institution often of hoary antiquity, and around it there may be a halo of romance, and even of religious sentiment, such that no one except a poet can do justice to. Besides that, there is the irrigation well, which Mr. Molony has selected as the subject of his lecture to-day, which plays a very great part in the economic life of

India, and might, I believe, play a still greater part. I am quite certain the paper we are going to listen to will give us all much to learn from, and I am sure we shall all carry away with us something from the very excellent address which I now ask Mr. Molony to deliver to us.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am quite sure you will agree with me that we have listened to a most interesting and practical paper. The lecturer has shown a most complete mastery of his subject, and he has, as I daresay you know, made a special study of well irrigation in the United Provinces, and has done a great deal to promote irrigation. If he had had a free hand, he would, I believe, have been able to do a great deal more.

I agree with him entirely that the importance of well irrigation in India can hardly be overestimated. Our imagination is very naturally impressed by the gigantic systems of canal irrigation which have been constructed of late years, and have done so much for the prosperity of great tracts of India: but there are large tracts still to which these irrigation works cannot be applied. There are places where you cannot store water at all, and other places where you can store water, but cannot lead it by gravity to cover great tracts of land. In all such places irrigation wells are of priceless value.

You all know that there was canal irrigation in ancient India upon an extensive scale; but the gigantic dams and great steel sluices and mechanical appliances were not possible in those days, so there was not in the ancient times anything to compare with the immense systems which are now bringing prosperity to immense tracts in the Punjab and elsewhere. On the other hand, as Mr. Molony has reminded us, well-irrigation in India goes back into a very far distant past: it has been mostly carried out by Indian capital, and by the capital of very small capitalists. As he has told us, the Indian wellmaker has the accumulated store of knowledge of centuries by him, and he is very difficult to beat in his task. When you travel through India in times of drought you may pass through hundreds of miles of country in which there seems to be nothing living except the green trees, and if the drought has been severe the trees themselves seem to be dying. But if you happen to strike a tract where there is well irrigation, the eye will be rested at once by the brilliant patches of green, forming the most grateful contrast to the prevailing yellow of the ground, and you will always notice at some corner of the patch a group of trees and the old well and the incline up and down which the bullocks are slowly moving.

As the lecturer has told us, it is not possible to ascertain the total area in India under irrigation by wells. The figures are not made public in any way, and I think that is a defect which ought to be remedied. It is important that we should know the relative importance of well irrigation and canal irrigation. In drought years, as I have seen myself in Bombay, you will always find that there is a development of well irrigation. When drought comes, the people start deepening their wells and building new ones, and the Government always comes to their assistance. That shows

that when the pinch is felt the tendency of the people is to go back to the ancient methods of irrigating their crops, and I am certain, as Mr. Molony knows, that much greater use could be made of wells in some parts of India where the rainfall is precarious.

Mr. Molony has explained the difficulties which exist in regard to well irrigation, which are physical and economic. He has given us a most interesting account of the physical difficulties in connection with percolation wells, and he has explained the difference between the spring well and the percolation well. I confess that I did not in the least understand that until I heard his explanation. He has made it quite clear to us that the question of the percolation well deserves a great deal more study than it has received, and I entirely agree with him that the expense of any experiments which are necessary should be borne by the Government, and that it would be worth while spending thousands of pounds to get a really good type of percolation well. There can be no doubt that improvements in agriculture in India can do more for the general prosperity of India than anything else in the world. (Hear, hear.) Industrial enterprise in India is progressing very satisfactorily, and there are people who are eagerly advocating further and more rapid industrial enterprise. That is a sound ambition; but, as I used to say in India, I think it is an ambition which ought to be gradually realized. Any sudden expansion of industrial enterprise would have the effect of drawing large numbers of men from the land, where they are very much wanted. In ancient days the population of India was very small in comparison with what it is now, when we have 313,000,000 for whom food must be found; and besides that, the export of the surplus food products of India is a very large item in that great and increasing trade which is doing so much to spread prosperity throughout India. If this year, and perhaps next, the cotton growers of India feel the effects of this war, on the other hand the grain growers are very likely to have good times before them.

The Indian cultivator, as we all know, has a wonderful accumulation of knowledge and experience derived from his forefathers; but just as the farmer in England and in Europe and America is coming to discover that there is a great deal to be learned about agriculture, so the Indian cultivator needs knowledge of many kinds, and also needs, in some cases, considerable improvement in his implements. The agricultural departments of the provinces of India are still quite in their infancy; but they are developing fast, and already they are doing wonderful work, which is not half enough realized. In the first place, they are setting up demonstration farms all over the country, and it was a common thing in Bombay for the villagers to petition for a demonstration farm to be set up in their midst. That shows that the people are becoming interested in seeing the best way to grow crops. Then, again, we are giving courses of instruction to different classes of cultivators; the Agricultural Department is publishing pamphlets in all the vernaculars dealing with many of the problems which face the Indian cultivator; and, lastly, it is carrying out original research, which is leading already in some directions to results of very great value.

It was a very great pleasure to me to see the progress which is steadily

being made in Bombay. In India, as you all know, it is necessary for the Government to start movements of many kinds, but you will always find that these movements are never completely successful unless you can carry the people with you and make them interested in making those movements successful, and that is what I believe is happening in agriculture now. I have been present at conferences where Indians came from long distances to discuss their common agricultural problems, and to read papers full of interesting and practical suggestions, and I have attended agricultural shows in far away country districts where the cultivators would come and examine with keen interest the exhibits, and compare them with the products of their own lands. All that shows that knowledge and interest in the improvement of agriculture is permeating among the people. Among the latest investigations carried out in the Bombay Provinces is a very important one in relation to seeds. A series of tests were made of the seeds which the cultivators were using, and the result has been to show that a very great deal of that seed was absolute rubbish, and that they were year after year sowing seed of which a large percentage would never germinate. That is an important bit of knowledge which is also permeating the cultivator, and which will lead him in the future to be more careful in the selection of his seeds. Then, as the lecturer suggested, in addition there was the question of capital. The great need of the Indian agriculturist is capital, and here again I am glad to be able to say distinct progress has been made. Co-operative societies in India are still in their infancy, and they are quite inadequate to meet the needs of the cultivating population; but they are steadily growing, and it is most encouraging to see that Indians in large numbers are now coming forward to help those societies. In Bombay we have an Indian agricultural bank, which has been formed to finance the co-operative societies, and from the operations of that bank in years to come I have the greatest belief that much good will come to agriculture throughout the Presidency. I do not think an educated Indian can render more patriotic service to his country than by helping that movement, and by explaining to his countrymen the needs for it and the objects of it, and the benefits to be derived from it. (Hear, hear.) Co-operation will not only help to reduce the indebtedness of the cultivator - it has already done that on a small scale - but it has shown that it is possible in that way to prevent the piling up of debt which we know so terribly oppresses the Indian rayat. Co-operation will also help to promote the well irrigation which the lecturer has dealt with, by enabling the cultivators to provide the capital to make the wells that are required. In Bombay we have made some experiments in the use of oil engines, and the time may come when a co-operative society will be able to provide itself with a small oil engine of a portable kind which can be taken from well to well in order to give a watering to the crops of the co-operators. Such an engine can also be used to lift water from rivers and pools which is often wasted because the ordinary methods of the cultivator will not suffice to draw it off and get it on to the land.

There is one point in connection with the present war which bears very much on the lecture. India, as I think you all know, is the largest

producer of cane sugar in the world. In normal years India produces three million tons of cane sugar, but the consumption in India has gone up very largely in recent years, and that, I think, speaks of the rising prosperity of the cultivating classes, so that India now wants, in addition to her production, a million and a half tons more, which she mostly gets from Java and Mauritius. Now, owing to the cessation of the exports of beet sugar from Austria and Germany, there will be a great withdrawal of Java sugar especially to England, and that will lead to a shortage in India. One result of that may be to give a great stimulus to sugar cultivation, and thus to well irrigation, which is one of the methods in which the production of sugar can be quickly increased in a short time. In any case, I think the result of the war must be a great development to sugar development in India, and the adoption of those scientific methods which have done so very much for the prosperity of Java.

In conclusion, I want to say what is an absolute platitude—but we sometimes forget platitudes—that India always was, is, and always must be primarily an agricultural country. The strength of India lies, and will always lie, in her land, and the best way to help India is to increase the produce of her land, which anyone who has been in India sees can be easily done, and in which the co-operation of educated Indians could be of most powerful assistance.

Then there is another thing I should like to ask you to remember to-night. The fine Indian troops who are gallantly fighting in Europe—(hear, hear)—under conditions of extreme and unaccustomed stress, for the cause of our Empire, all come from the rural population of India, and many a humble village home will share with our homes in England in the bitter sorrow which must arise from the heavy loss which this terrible war has brought home to so many people. We must earnestly hope that when this war is ended, good will come out of the very great evil that we see all around us, and that the suffering and sacrifices will draw all classes and all races more closely together in healing the wounds of this war, in repairing the economic damage, and in restoring the prosperity of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH said: I think that all who are acquainted with India will endorse the views of the lecturer on artificial irrigation as a necessity in agriculture, and on the prominent part played by well irrigation. I would, however, draw your attention to the terrace system of irrigation, which, so far as my experience goes, has been but little used in India, and consequently has not been alluded to by the lecturer. It has, however, been extensively employed in Ceylon to bring into cultivation much valuable land on hill or mountain side, which would otherwise have remained unproductive.

Under this system the water from small mountain streams or rivers is diverted into terraces, one above another; the water of one terrace flowing into the next below it. An excellent example of this system is shown in the accompanying photograph, which shows the irrigation terraces spread over the whole of the lower flanks of the Allagalla Mountain in Ceylon. This system might advantageously be

adopted on the flanks of the Himalayas or other mountain ranges in India.

The "village tank" system also plays a prominent part in the irrigation of the Madras Presidency and of Ceylon. It generally consists of a chain of small tanks, of about an acre or upwards in extent, held up by low embankments, in a gently sloping district, the overflow of one tank going to fill the next tank in succession.

In my Administration Report on the Public Works of Ceylon for the year 1867 I wrote :

"The principal requirements of the Eastern Province are the repairs of a few large tanks. Those in the Southern Province are the repair of innumerable small tanks. In the latter the chief cause of failure has been the want of proper sluices, and the pernicious system of distributing water by cutting the embankments. The result of this system is that the water generally overpowers the efforts of the cultivators to close the outlet, and the embankments are breached year after year, until the cultivators are too poor and too much discouraged to repair them."

The breach of one tank often causes the destruction of others in the chain below it. In order to remedy this evil I designed a simple cast-iron "village sluice," which could be set in rough rubble masonry in a grip cut in the solid ground outside the end of the embankment. The whole arrangement cost only a few pounds. It was popular with the cultivators, and effected a great saving, not only in the repair of tanks, but also in crops.

One great difficulty with which one has to contend is the apathy and indolence of the cultivators. As an example of this I may cite a case in which Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of Ceylon, imported Carolina rice which gives two crops when the native rice gives only one. He distributed this for experiment in different districts ; and when visiting one of these districts he called up the headman, who, in answer to his inquiry replied : "That rice no good for this country ; always in crop ; no time for anything."

Another instance came to my notice in the Mysore famine when the cattle were dying for want of fodder. A revenue officer found a means of getting the thorns from the cactus leaves so as to enable it to be used for fodder ; but on explaining it to the intelligent native, he received the reply "Very good ; but who is going to take all that trouble?"

MR. HENRY MARSH said that the excellent paper of Mr. Molony had interested him **very** much. This will be realized from the fact that he had devoted thirty-five years of his life to canal irrigation in India, and three years in Argentina and Mexico. The question of the use of spring level was a very important one. It had received much attention from the Revenue Department in Upper India, and from the irrigation Engineers. For the purpose of observing the rise and fall of the spring water, lines had been selected, running transversely to the main canals. Along these lines masonry wells were selected, in which water was only taken for

drinking purposes, and in which the levels would not be effected by such operations. On the masonry of each well marks were fixed by surveyors, and at fixed times in each year observers came round and recorded the depths of the water levels below the marks. Scaled sections were drawn out, indicating the ground conformation of the water-sheds, and the maximum and minimum heights of the spring levels in each well. These data were then studied every year, and valuable deductions were obtained. It was discovered that in a rainy year like 1894-95, when there was very slight canal irrigation, and a serious fall of some 30 lakhs of canal revenue, the spring level reached its maximum height. Conversely, in a year of vast canal irrigation like 1896-97, when canals ran vigorously throughout the year, the spring level was very low. These apparently unexpected results were due to the fact that in the wet year there was no draught on the subterranean reservoirs. No wells were utilized for irrigation, and the rivers, streams and lakes were full of water. Consequently the spring level rose. But in the dry year the converse conditions prevailed. Every river, stream, lake and well was called on to irrigate the crops. Consequently the spring level fell, though a maximum amount of water was spread on the surface of the earth. In a small way we see similar results occurring in this country. Before waterworks were constructed for towns every house had a well and the draught of water reduced the spring level. I know that in Dublin many basement stories have been rendered uninhabitable since the domestic water-supply was taken from the Wicklow mountains instead of from the wells. For many years it has been recognized by the Irrigation Department that it is advisable to preserve the well irrigation in India, not only for the reason of preventing an insalubrious rise of spring level, but also for the purpose of supplementing the work of canals. With this view great care was taken by the Irrigation Department to mark the well-irrigated fields on the village maps.

They were given a distinct colour-wash, and this enabled the engineer to veto extensions of canal branches in the immediate vicinity, though the landowners were often urging the necessity. When Sir Probyn Cautley designed his wonderful scheme for the Ganges Canal seventy years ago, he had no staff to look into matters of detail. The peasants who had hitherto irrigated their crops with well water were much quicker in utilizing the bountiful supply from the canal than their neighbours. Consequently many excellent wells fell into disuse, and this led to the rise of spring level referred to by Mr. Molony.

Sir Probyn had designed the great canal to run through the Meerut district, so that the bed of clay was not cut through. Unfortunately, the Government insisted on the canal being lowered for sanitary reasons, but by doing so the porous sand was reached, and much leakage took place. At present the following precautions are taken to prevent waste of water and an insalubrious rise of spring level :

1. Drainage outlets are carefully preserved and hundreds of miles of artificial cuts have been excavated.
2. Cultivators are discouraged from abandoning this well irrigation.



CEPACU DEGRADATION ON THE FLANKS OF THE ATTACHED "BONNIE"
KANDU PROVINCE, CEYLON

3. The main canals and branches are designed so as to enable the water to line the channels with an automatic impermeable deposit.

4. Minor branches have been constructed by Government, and this water is brought close to the fields of the cultivators without waste.

5. Canals and branches are frequently closed in rotation. This system allows the country to dry and induces the people to utilize the water in the running weeks with a high economy.

From the United Provinces Mr. Marsh was transferred to the Central India States with the view of developing irrigation works in that arid tract. There he was faced by the converse problem. Spring level had fallen so much that a large number of wells had fallen into disuse. As a result of study he found that in early ages the Chandels were a most industrious race who never allowed water to run to waste. To a large extent the flow of rain-water off fields was controlled by a series of petty dams. The result was that there was excellent cultivation. The presence of ancient stone troughs shows that sugar-cane was in those piping times a staple crop. The troughs were used for expressing the cane juices. There are also remains of many old dams, which must have stored huge tanks of water. Near Bhopal, it is said that one lake covered 250 square miles of land. It is believed that these valuable works were wrecked by conquerors, who looked to the immediate results of cultivating the fertile beds of the lakes. But in doing so they converted an equable climate into one of great heat and aridity. Small rivers were changed into huge cavernous ravines, which discharged mighty volumes for a few days in the year. At other times they were often dry, or marked only by unimportant streams. In thirty-one years of his residence in the United Provinces Mr. Marsh never witnessed a famine. This was due to the protective effect of canal irrigation. In three years he saw two famines in Central India. To ameliorate these lamentable conditions he induced the States to check the flow of rain-water from the fields by small banks. He is glad to say that famine labour was largely utilized in this excellent work.

Schemes for large and small irrigation works were also presented to the Durbars which could be undertaken when financial conditions were improved. In many cases the States were induced to restore tanks which had fallen into disuse. Where wells had run dry the proprietors were assisted with boring apparatus and explosives until good supplies of water were available. In conclusion, Mr. Marsh added that the ruin of the ancient irrigation and cultivation in Central India by ignorant conquerors produced much the same conditions as had obtained in Mesopotamia after the destruction of the great works of Babylon.

MR. C. LIDDELL SIMPSON said that in connection with India his firm, Messrs. James Simpson and Co., Ltd., of London and Newark-on-Trent, had supplied a large number of pumping engines for delivering water into a great number of towns in India. In nearly all these cases the source of supply was taken from rivers where the water, after being filtered, was pumped into the towns for domestic use. There were, however, exceptions to this, such as Amritsar, Umballa, and Bereilly, where water was drawn from a series of wells. These wells were piped up into one common

suction and connected direct on to the pumping engines. A number of wells were adopted so that it would not ever be necessary to pump them down too low. It was known from experience that if you drew too hard on any one well, then you would get trouble through sand being drawn in. It was therefore necessary to take careful note to make such arrangements so that these wells were never drawn below a certain limit. If careful attention was not given to this important point, the result would be that drawing too much water and lowering the level would mean drawing in sand, and a great risk run of the well caving in. He understood that recently experiments had been made in India to get over this difficulty by introducing special strainers on to the suction pipes in each well. In parts of India they had very good results by using these strainers, as the sand was prevented going through with the water, and with such a special arrangement it was possible to draw a great deal more water out of each individual well. It should, however, be noted that a great deal depended on the class of sand met with, as to whether it was possible for specially made strainers to prevent the sand passing up the suction pipe when pumping was full on. To help the agricultural community in those parts of India where pumping for irrigation purposes was the only means of getting water, he felt sure that this pumping must be done on a large scale, or, in other words, it must be carried out on the co-operative principle with the assistance of the Government. This would mean installing irrigation pumping stations designed to deal with certain areas, having the pumping station concentrated in one place so that it could be properly controlled, the water being pumped into irrigation channels and so supplied to the agricultural community. He remembered the large irrigation project which the Madras Government successfully installed on the mouth of the Divi River, and which has worked so successfully. It consisted of eight centrifugal pumping engines driven by direct-coupled Diesel oil engines. At certain times of the year the river falls too low to command the land near the mouth of the river, and it is necessary to lift the water about 12 feet in order to irrigate at that time of the year. This is an example of where irrigation is carried out by a pumping plant controlled from one central station supplying through the ordinary irrigation channels. He understood that there were in India large tracts of land which, owing to their position, could not be controlled for irrigation purposes by the canals, and it was necessary in order to get the water on to the land to adopt some scheme for pumping up the water. He was quite sure that if a pumping scheme for doing this irrigation work was thought out and designed, subject also to the local conditions for obtaining coal, oil or power from a large hydro-electric scheme supplying cheap electricity, it could be installed on a paying basis, if undertaken by the Government, and controlled by them in the same way as they conduct all the canals.

MR. SAMPURAN SINGH said that he had been a keen observer of irrigation works in India, being a zemindar. He thought that the industrial and the economic question of India—though touched by some of his predecessors—was out of the scope of the subject of the evening. But it was connected with agriculture, in the sense that the whole machinery

of Government depended mostly upon this source of income, so that he could say the agricultural classes of India deserved more attention than any other. Peasantry had been called the backbone and pride of all nations, it was the peasantry who were performing the services of the Empire, and the agriculturists of India were filling the coffers of the Government.

With regard to canals, he thought there was no need to compare the canals and well systems in India, because in his opinion they were complementary systems of irrigation, and even where the canal system was thought to be necessary, the wells were no less so. Otherwise the sub-soil water would rise and would tell badly upon the health of the people, and sometimes bring up the subsoil salts and affect the fertility of the land. People knew that towns like Amritsar were continually suffering from malaria. Many experiments had been made in that neighbourhood, because it was thought, in order to remove the trouble, it was necessary that the water should be taken out of the soil. The distribution of canal water could be modified and the lands irrigated by wells. Canals were becoming more expensive, and he would like to suggest to the Government that irrigation by canals should not be a source of income, but should be made solely for the benefit of the people, though it should be, of course, self-supporting. He thought that the system had a discouraging effect upon certain crops in some parts of India, especially sugar cane, the cultivation of which should be centralized. In order to make sugar manufacture successful in India, there should be some provision made for using the by-products.

The failure of rain affected both canals and wells; when there was not sufficient rain both suffered. At the present stage it would be difficult to add to the resources of the canals, but they should make efficient wells into which water may percolate from deeper strata and larger areas. The Government of the Punjab were still trying to improve their wells. In his opinion, any new kind of well should not be monopolized by anyone, not even by the Government: new inventions should be cheap, so as to be bought, used, and managed by the villagers themselves.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the following letter from Sir Thomas Holland:

"DEAR MR. POLLEN,

"I am very sorry that, owing to continuous military duty, I am unable to get up to town to-morrow to hear Mr. Molony's paper on 'Well Digging in India.'

"You probably know that it was through Mr. Molony's recognition of the geological conditions in the Gangetic plain, his mechanical ingenuity, and his remarkable gift for inspiring enthusiasm, that the small hand-well multiplied to the great advantage of the ryot, first in the United Provinces, and afterwards in the provinces farther east, where his system was copied with conspicuous success. He is among the Englishmen who can fairly claim to have made 'two blades grow where one grew before' in India, which is one of the best rewards of service.

"Your sincerely,

"(Signed) THOMAS H. HOLLAND."

MR. GOUMENT said that he wished to correct the remarks made by the lecturer regarding the Amritsar Waterworks wells. The lecturer had said that they had been sunk without any preliminary investigations. This was not correct. As a matter of fact investigations as to the nature of the subsoil and the probable yield had been made for some years before the wells were put down. It had been stated that the depth of the wells was 70 feet, when one third of this depth would have sufficed. This was not the case. Most of the wells had been taken down 60 to 65 feet, and the chief reason why they had been made so deep was not to get a larger yield from them, but to get a pure supply of water from a considerable depth below ground surface.* The sanitary authorities had insisted on deep wells, and the engineers had to meet their wishes. The shallow perforated wells the lecturer seemed to suggest, drawing water from any depth between 5 and 20 feet below ground surface, would have been altogether unsuitable for the water-supply of the town, though perhaps good enough for irrigation purposes.

The LECTURER in reply said: There are a few points which I should like to draw attention to. With regard to the case of the Amritsar Waterworks wells, I happen to have seen those wells, and I should like to say a few words about them. There are a large number of wells sunk close together to a depth of about 70 feet, and as far as I could see the water level there was about 3 feet from the surface, which of course explains why the medical people say Amritsar is so unhealthy. I fancy those wells were sunk, so to speak, "on spec," that is to say, the engineers had decided, before drawing out their plans and estimates, that 70 feet was the right depth, they did not trouble apparently to make borings or anything of that kind, as far as I can see, as I believe the well foundations are on an unsatisfactory fine sand. I believe those wells would have given as much water as they give at present if they had been sunk 15 or 20 feet below the surface, and if that had been done, they could have put down two or three times that number and connected them up, and got a great deal more water than they have got. If a suitable type of percolation well had been discovered and utilized at Amritsar, it is probable that about one-tenth the number of the wells they have now would have given them all the water they wanted, therefore I look on Amritsar as a very good case for showing how much money can be thrown away by proceeding without thoroughly understanding the problem or spending money beforehand in experiments. Over a great portion of India you have the same problem in connection with the supply of water for agriculture.

I never saw the Umballa Waterworks, and I do not think they were in existence when I went out to India. I imagine Umballa is very near the edge of the spring-well tract. It is a very curious thing, and if there is any geologist present he may possibly explain it. The boundaries of the spring-well tract are on the west of the River Sutlej; on the south the Jumna and Vindhyan hills down to the junction of the Ganges and the Gogra Rivers; the northern boundary is the Gogra up to, say, Bahramghat, and thence a line through Bareilly back to Umballa, excluding the submontane tract

* All the wells have been sunk into a bed of good water-bearing coarse sand. --C. E. G.

along the Himalayas. The subsoil in this tract consists largely of clay, but once you cross the Sutlej you practically find nothing but pure sand right away down to great depths. Perhaps some geologist may know the reason of that.

In Bengal they have so much rain that they do not require irrigation, and therefore no one has sunk wells or troubled about what the subsoil is ; or whether spring wells or only percolation wells could be made. In Guzerat, in Bombay, is another tract where spring wells are largely used. In the whole of the Punjab west of the Sutlej and all the submontane tract along the Himalayas the wells are nearly all percolation wells. I do not know very much about Madras, but I think they are nearly all percolation wells, from which, however, they get very good results. You constantly see people there irrigating their rice from percolation wells, whereas in upper India we never see them doing that.

Now, mention was made of filter wells with strainers, as used in the Punjab. Probably one of them was Brownlee's convoluted tube well. I do not know much about them, but I understand they have been well reported on in the Punjab. In the case of the United Provinces I understand that they have not proved quite satisfactory. I think the idea of these convoluted tube wells was to work them in such a way that you drew the fine sand through the strainers into the tube, and then cleared the tube of the sand, leaving only the coarser sand packed outside the strainer. That is a very good idea if you have a mixture of sand both fine and coarse, but if you have not got a mixture, and it is all fine sand, the result is that your well fills up with sand, and it goes on filling up practically for ever, however often the pipe is cleared.

I agree that canals and wells ought to be complementary, although it is easier to say that than to suggest how it is to be done, because, if a sufficiently heavy canal rate is levied to prevent well irrigation from being unfairly handicapped by its greater cost, zemindars like Mr. Sampuran Singh will certainly begin to cry out about extortion. There is no doubt that the best cultivation in India is in the districts irrigated by means of wells. The reason for that, I think, is largely due to the fact that good cultivation has two important results : first, it conserves in the soil the moisture which is brought up from below by capillary action. Good cultivation has this effect, that it prevents the sun evaporating the water which capillary action has brought up, and your soil consequently remains moist. If you have canal irrigation and can throw unlimited amounts of water on the land, you have no such necessity to prevent the loss of moisture by evaporation. Good cultivation has a second very important function. There exist in the soil many bacteria whose function is to take the nitrogen from the atmosphere and to fix it in the soil in a form in which it can be utilized by the crops. Good cultivation gives these bacteria the best conditions for energetic working, and thus produces marvellous results in increasing the fertility of the soil. It often happens that the cultivator, with no necessity to economize the moisture, shirks the good cultivation so desirable for the maintenance of the natural fertility of the soil.

With reference to sugar-cane in the Punjab there are many difficulties.

I imagine the climate is the greatest difficulty in the way of growing cane there. In the winter it is very cold, and in the summer it is very hot, and it is always very dry. In upper India cane always grows, so to speak, on sufferance, whereas in the south, where the air is hot and damp, you get cane to grow in its full luxuriance. I would not advise any friend of mine to spend money on trying to grow cane in the Punjab.

I quite agree that any invention made in the matter of wells ought to be made at the expense of the Government, and should be thrown open to the public.

MR. PENNINGTON said he thought this was a splendid opportunity for pushing the cultivation of sugar-cane in preference to beet. A great effort is being made to start the cultivation of beet in this country under some system of protection; but as cane sugar undoubtedly goes very much farther, it is actually cheaper, besides being infinitely more wholesome, so that it would be disastrous to encourage the growth of the inferior product.

With reference to the Chairman's remark that the consumption of sugar was one proof of the prosperity of a country, it was curious that the consumption of sugar per head in India was considerably higher than it was in most countries on the Continent, excepting England, Switzerland and Denmark, and about four times what it is, (or was some years ago,) in Italy.

On the motion of SIR KRISHNA GUPTA, seconded by SIR MANCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGREE, a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I assure you I do not require any thanks for coming here. It has been a great pleasure for me to come again and take part in an Indian subject. Those who have been to India even for a short time come away with an inextinguishable love for the country, and what we feel most when we come back to our retirement is that it is so difficult for us to carry on the work for the advancement of India. It has therefore been a great pleasure for me to come here to-night and say a few words in encouragement of Indian industries.

THE INDIA SOCIETY

BY T. W. ROLLESTON

"NOT till the wolf shall mate with the sheep," said Aristophanes, "shall warfare cease to be dear to the immortal gods." These, it is true, are not the deities to whom most of us now pay lip-service, but they have still obviously much to do with the government of the world, and warfare, in some shape or form, still brings to birth many a thing without which life would be the poorer. That through the Society which is the subject of these remarks some enrichment has been made to the culture of our day will hardly be disputed. Certainly none of the many thousand readers of Rabindranath Tagore will dispute it, when they know that through this organization of friends and students of Indian culture, his thought and poetry were first made known to the English-speaking world.

It was a war, or at least a skirmish, a sudden clash of hostile convictions, which formed the proximate cause of the foundation of the India Society. How this came about, let us now put historically on record. The clash took place at a meeting of the Society of Arts, held on February 4, 1910. Mr. E. B. Havell had read a paper on "Art Administration in India," in which official methods were condemned for seeking to found modern Indian art-education on the traditions of the European Renaissance instead of on the ancient and indigenous art of the country. Sir George Birdwood was in the chair, and in commenting

on the specimens of Indian art exhibited or illustrated by Mr. Havell, he delivered himself of the following opinions :

“As to this recently raised question of the existence in India—India of the Hindus—of a typical, idiosyncratic, and idiomatic ‘fine art’ . . . of this ‘fine art’ the unfettered and impassioned realization of the ideals kindled within us by the things without us, I have up to the present, and through an experience of seventy-eight years, found no examples in India.

‘ . . . These symbolic forms before us are not rendered artistically, but altogether canonically. . . . In the eye of a true artist they are for the most part but mechanical bronzes and brasses, the merest ‘Brummagem.’

“ . . . My attention is drawn to the photograph, on my left, of an image of the Buddha as an example of Indian ‘fine art.’ This senseless similitude, in its immemorial fixed pose, is nothing more than an uninspired brazen image, vacuously squinting down its nose to its thumbs, knees, and toes. A boiled suet pudding would serve equally well as a symbol for passionless purity and serenity of soul.”

It was felt that the matter could not rest there, and a letter of protest was immediately prepared, which appeared in the *Times* of February 28. After reciting the foregoing criticisms, which are, of course, quite natural and reasonable in a mind entirely obsessed by the Hellenic conventions of plastic art, the letter went on :

“We, the undersigned artists, critics, and students of art, while giving cordially to Sir George Birdwood all the credit due to his valuable work in connection with the revival or preservation of Indian arts and crafts, think that it would be a misfortune if the criticisms just cited were to go forth to India and elsewhere as the expression of views prevalent on this subject among lovers of art in the British Islands. We

find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotion of the people, and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine. We recognize in the Buddha type of sacred figure one of the great artistic inspirations of the world. We hold that the existence of a distinct, a potent, and a living tradition of art, is a possession, of priceless value to the Indian people, and one which they, and all who admire and respect their achievements in this field, ought to guard with the utmost reverence and love. While opposed to the mechanical stereotyping of particular traditional forms, we consider that it is only in organic development from the national art of the past that the path of true progress is to be found. Confident that we here speak for a very large body of qualified European opinion, we wish to assure our brother craftsmen and students in India that the school of national art in that country, which is still showing its vitality and its capacity for the interpretation of Indian life and thought, will never fail to command our admiration and sympathy so long as it remains true to itself. We trust that, while not disdaining to accept whatever can be wholesomely assimilated from foreign sources, it will jealously preserve the individual character which is an outgrowth of the history and physical conditions of the country, as well as of those ancient and profound religious conceptions which are the glory of India and of all the Eastern world."

The signatories to this manifesto were: Professor Frederick Brown, Mr. Walter Crane, Sir George Frampton, Mr. Laurence Housman, Professor E. Lantéri, Professor W. R. Lethaby, Mr. Halsey Ricardo, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. T. W. Rolleston, Mr. W. Rothenstein, Mr. George W. Russell (A.E.), Mr. W. Reynolds Stephens, Professor Charles Waldstein, LITT.D., and Mr. Emery Walker.

That was enough as an immediate counter to the proclamation of the dogma that India had no fine art. But the further step, that the opinions of the signatories should be brought to the test by making specimens of this art available for the judgment of the Western world, was obviously called for. The signatories to the *Times* letter, and others likely to be interested, were summoned to an informal meeting, which was held on March 17 at the house of Mr. Havell. There and then the India Society was formed, and after some further deliberations the first Executive Committee was constituted. It was composed as follows: Professor T. W. Arnold, Mrs. Leighton Cleather, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Walter Crane, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mrs. (now Lady) Herringham, Dr. Paira Mall, Mr. T. W. Rolleston (Hon. Secretary and Treasurer), Mr. William Rothenstein (Chairman of Committee). The first Report of the Society contained the following statement of its aims:

"The India Society was formed in the spring of 1910 for the purpose of promoting the study and appreciation of Indian art, in the widest sense of the word. For some time previously, various publications and discussions in England, as well as the important work of the Indian Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta, had combined to spread the belief that certain sides of Indian life and Indian culture were, both in India and in England, far too little understood and valued. Besides the great works (especially in building) whose beauty and mastery are everywhere recognized, there appeared to be an immense and rich field in painting, sculpture, music, and other expressions of Indian thought and feeling—both ancient and modern—which, except for a few students, had remained largely undiscovered land, but the study and appreciation of which seemed to be of vital importance to those who would know and understand the indigenous civilization of India."

It will be seen that while the immediate stimulus to the formation of the Society was a dispute about Indian sculpture, the term "art" was interpreted by the Society in the widest sense. Two of the Society's publications (a term which must be taken to include works adopted by the Society for distribution to its members) deal with Indian drawings of the Mughal and Rajput schools. Two volumes are purely literary—the now famous "*Gitanjali*" of Tagore, and his beautiful drama "*Chitra*." One volume is devoted to Indian sculpture, illustrated by examples principally in English collections; and one to "*The Music of Hindustan*." For 1914 and 1915 the Society has in hand the most important work it has yet undertaken, the publication of a series of over fifty plates and engravings, representing in colour and monochrome Lady Herringham's full-scale copies of frescoes in the Buddhist cave-temples at Ajanta. These frescoes, which date from about the second to the seventh centuries A.D. are perhaps the greatest achievement of Asiatic, certainly of Indian, painting. They are essentially a product of Indian culture, as unlike to Mongol as they are to European art, and open an entirely new world to the ken of the Western student of painting. All of Indian life is in them—scenes of war, of hunting, of love; the palace and the jungle; in at least one instance the supreme height of religious feeling is reached—everywhere there is manifested a feeling for life, at once tender and frank, joyous and devout, naive in conception and execution, but, within its own conventions, finely accomplished. A new literary work has also appeared, a translation from the poems of the fifteenth-century mystic, Kabir, by Rabindranath Tagore and Miss Evelyn Underhill.

Apart from its publications, the Society, it may be mentioned, has, by its correspondence with the Government of India, been the means of setting on foot that inquiry into modern Indian building of which the Government has given a most interesting and valuable instalment by the publication, in the autumn of 1913, of a "*Report on Modern Indian Architecture*." This inquiry and Report may well

alter very advantageously the European attitude towards what is undoubtedly a great and living art of modern India.

To-day, on looking back over four years of work, we cannot but recognize the astonishing advance which has been made in the task which is the main object of the Society—that of making the æsthetic culture of India better known and appreciated in the West. In the movement of thought which has had these results the Indian Society has no doubt been partly a symptom, but certainly also in large measure a generating and impelling force. Hitherto Indian philosophy, Indian politics, Indian economics, have been almost the only aspects of Indian life which have attracted the attention of the West. But now we find Indian sculpture, Indian painting, Indian music, and the living architecture of India beginning to be understood and valued as they never were before, and the modern poetry of India making its first effective appeal to European readers.

The Society has hitherto worked mainly by publishing, or aiding in the publication of, works which are distributed free to its members in return for their annual subscriptions of one guinea. Lectures have occasionally been held in London, but owing to the large proportion of members who live in India or on the Continent, it is not thought desirable to expend any large share of the Society's small funds on objects in which these members cannot participate. What the future work and methods of the Society may be when the Ajanta undertaking has been completed in 1915 it will only be possible to say when we have taken stock of the condition of our finances and our membership. At present our roll of members contains about 200 names. It ought to be at least 1,000, and if it reached that point it is evident that much could be done to enhance the privileges of members which must remain at present unattempted. One object of this brief article is frankly to invite the readers of the *Asiatic Review*, who may all be presumed to take a serious interest in Oriental culture, to make further inquiries about the India Society with a view to joining its ranks. They will be helping a cause which must appeal to most of

them, and they will be receiving advantages which, judged by the crudest standards of money value, are even now well worth the outlay involved, and must become greater with every appreciable increase in the resources of the Society. Money value is a poor test enough; still, it may be worth noting that the works so far distributed by the Society, taken together, could not at this day be procured for anything like the sum which it cost members to obtain them.

Very little has hitherto been done to make the Society publicly known. It has grown simply by the propaganda of individual members among their friends. But the time has come when the work it has accomplished, and the far bigger work which it has yet to do, justify it in making a wider appeal for support. This work appeals both to Europe and to India, and it has found some welcome already in America; but nowhere should it be so great a concern as to the British Islands; nowhere else should it be able to look so confidently for sympathy and help. It makes for a better understanding of India—surely a cardinal object for this country—because it makes for a better knowledge and appreciation of the finest ways in which the Indian mind has expressed itself. And it may fairly claim to have already given substantial earnest of its ability to fulfil the mission which it has undertaken.

The Executive Committee for the present year is formed by Professor T. W. Arnold, F.R.S., Mr. Laurence Binyon, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Commendatore Walter Crane, R.W.S., Mr. A. H. Fox Strangways, Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, K.C.I.E., Sir W. P. Herringham, Professor W. R. Lethaby, Mr. David McGill, Mr. William Rothenstein, Thakur S. J. Seesodia, and Dr. F. W. Thomas, with Mr. John de la Valette and the present writer as Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer respectively. Anyone who will send a card to Mr. de la Valette at 108, Lexham Gardens, W., will receive a copy of the last Report, with Rules and a list of members, and any other information that may be desired.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE Parsi community in London has been making the most of a short stay in this country of their distinguished high priest, Dr. M. N. Dhalla, M.A. He has been in the United States for eight months lecturing on Zoroastrianism at his old University, Columbia, where some years ago he took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy; and elsewhere, and his visit to England, with Mrs. Dhalla, is a break in the return journey to India. London has had the advantage of hearing him lecture twice on "The Message of Zoroaster"; and another interesting occasion in which he played an important part was the Naojot ceremony—investiture with the sacred thread-- of Miss Goolcheher Rustam R. Desai. It was the first time that the ceremony had been performed quasi-publicly in this country, and, as Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee indicated, it may lead to a more general observance in the future. The little girl, who is only eight years old, went through the ordeal with great self-possession, and her childish voice could be heard distinctly accompanying the sonorous tones of Dr. Dhalla in chanting the scriptural passages used at the ceremony. A large number of friends, British and Indian, irrespective of creed, accepted the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Desai to be present on the occasion, and the religious ceremony was followed by tea and social intercourse. The Parsi community took

advantage of the occasion to make a presentation to Dr. Dhalla as a token of their appreciation of his scholarly services to Zoroastrianism. His latest book, "Zoroastrian Theology," was published in New York during his visit, and is now available in England and in India. It is a masterly work, and a mine of information for Parsis and those outside the community who are interested in the subject. Dr. Dhalla's characteristics in lecturing, clearness of statement and orderly sequence of thought, are prominent in the book, which is dedicated to "The Iranian Scholars of the West, Past and Present." The book also possesses such valuable aids to students as a full summary of contents, a good index, and a bibliography. On leaving London Dr. and Mrs. Dhalla spent some days at Oxford with Professor Mills, whose scholarly works on Zoroastrianism are well known in East and West.

Dr. S. A. Kapadia, a prominent member of the Parsi community, and long resident in London, lectured on January 12, under the auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce (East India Section), on "Our Indian Troops at the Front." The lecture was well attended and widely noticed in the Press.

A gathering, which was fraught with living interest, took place on January 17, when East and West met at the Browning Settlement, Walworth, London, S.E. The origin was simply a suggestion that the National Indian Association, in its visits to places of interest in and around London, should pay an afternoon call on the Warden, Mr. Herbert Stead, M.A., and, under his guidance, see something of the splendid social work which is done in the crowded neighbourhood of Walworth. Mr. Stead, with characteristic readiness to make the most of a suggestion, proposed an "Indian Afternoon" at the Browning Hall, to give an opportunity for Walworth to testify its appreciation of the services India is rendering to the Empire in the present crisis, and at the same time welcome as many Indians

as liked to take part. A large party responded to the invitation, and when a tall, khaki-clad Indian took his seat with the rest on the platform, there was a great outburst of cheering. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali was the spokesman for India, and his address on "The Gospel of Brotherhood" was heard with keen interest. Professor Inayat Khan gave Indian songs accompanied on the veena, and Mr. Surendra Nath Maitra sang several of Rabindranath Tagore's hymns—to the great delight of the audience. Mr. Stead, who is the younger brother of the late Mr. W. T. Stead, and has been the inspirer of the remarkably constructive social work done through the Settlement, said that present circumstances were cementing the blood bond between Britain and India. The "Indian Afternoon" proved to be an event of unusual interest.

Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., Under Secretary of State for India, has taken active interest in the formation of "The Indian" Good Templars Lodge in London; he was present at its inauguration in the autumn, and he and Lady Cecilia Roberts showed their practical sympathy with the work of temperance among Indians by inviting the members of the Lodge to an At Home at their house, 10, Holland Park, on January 16. A very pleasant afternoon was spent, and in an address given by Mr. Guy Haylor, the international character of the Order was emphasized. The officers and committee of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association were also invited, so the house of the Under Secretary focussed the forces of temperance among Indians. The "Indian Lodge" holds its monthly meetings at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on the third Saturday each month at 4.30 p.m. The speaker on February 20 will be Judge Rentoul.

The East and West Society migrated from 21, Cromwell Road, its usual habitat, to King's College, Strand, for its meeting on January 28, and secured the services of Sir

Theodore Morison as lecturer; the Principal of the College, Dr. Burrows, presided, and among others present was Dr. Caldicott the Dean. Sir Theodore's subject was, "The Social Unrest in India," and in a survey of the factors which are influencing India to-day as a result of the contact between East and West, he emphasized the gradual change in the characteristically Oriental respect for authority—whether of Government or Guru—before the characteristically Western idea of the duty to one's own conscience.

The interest taken in the Indian troops now fighting with British and Overseas Dominions soldiers in France and Flanders brought a large audience to the meeting of the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on January 21, when Mr. H. J. Elwes read a paper on Nepal. He laid stress on the affinity existing between Britons and the Gurkhas, and expressed with emphatic warmth his hope that the cordial relations would continue. Ever courageous, the Gurkha, he said, grew more and more fearless as danger increased. Sir Louis Dane, in a brief speech, strongly supported Mr. Elwes's hope that the friendship between Britain, India, and Nepal would grow, and pointed out that the present cordial relations are largely due to Lord Curzon's instrumentality.

The Central Asian Society does not hesitate to grapple with political questions, and it was fortunate in having the present situation in China elucidated by a resident in that country of more than thirty years, Mr. Duncan H. Mackintosh. A special point of interest in the address given by Mr. Mackintosh at the January meeting of the Society was Germany's disregard of "A Scrap of Paper" in China in 1897, as in Belgium in 1914. When she seized Kiaou Chou suddenly, without previous communication with the Chinese Government, as compensation for the murder of two missionaries, "in obedience to the commands of the

Emperor of Germany," she tore up the Treaty of Tientsin, of 1858, by which peaceful commerce was to be maintained with a fair field and no favour for foreign nations, Germany included. The Mailed Fist policy did not end with the seizure; Germany demanded sovereign rights for ninety-nine years over a zone of 50 kilometres round Kiaou Chou, and required the Chinese Government to pay the costs of the occupation, and also grant to Germany preferential rights for the building of railways and working of mines in the province of Shantung. China protested in vain; the high-handed action not only infringed the favoured-nation clause of the treaty, but rudely upset the balance of power. A significant remark of Herr Bebel in the Reichstag soon after was that the noise about China was to cover the naval vote. Mr. Mackintosh is very hopeful as to the future of China; he pointed to her enormous resources in the industry of her people, and to the way in which railways have helped the prosperity of the country.

The rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society are hearing the unaccustomed strains of music—Indian music. The musician is Professor Inayat Khan, who is also a mystic; he is giving a series of twelve lectures—six in February and six in March—on Philosophy and Eastern Music. He will deal with such questions as the mystery of sound, the philosophy of music, intellect and wisdom, nature's beauty, life and death, miracles, the effect of music upon animals. The lectures will have musical illustrations, but on four occasions there will be a concert by his band of Indian musicians. Professor Inayat Khan has recently returned to England from Russia, where he was warmly welcomed by the musicians of Moscow. He is the grandson of Moula Bux, who invented the Hindu Notation system.

A. A. S.

OBITUARY

FRANK BRANDT, R.N.: A SHORT SKETCH OF HIS
LIFE AND SERVICES

FRANK BRANDT was the elder son of Francis Brandt, Indian Civil Service (at one time Judge of the High Court, Madras), and Mrs. Brandt (daughter of the Rev. W. Dobson, Principal of Cheltenham College from 1845 to 1859), now of Kirkella, Cheltenham. He was born in Madras on October 2, 1871; entered the navy on January 25, 1885; was in the *Calliope* in 1887 through the hurricane off Samoa, in company with the Captains of the *Sydney* and the *Chatham*; Sub-Lieutenant in 1891; Lieutenant in 1892; qualified as Torpedo Lieutenant in 1896; and served as such till promoted to Commander in 1903. He was then for a year in the Fleet Reserve at Portsmouth, and when that was abolished was put in charge of the newly-formed Torpedo Boat Flotilla at that place, with a free hand to organize it and put it on its present footing. In this he was so successful that before the end of that commission he was asked (in 1906) to go over to the newly-acquired Fort Blockhouse, at the mouth of Portsmouth Harbour, to organize that establishment as an enlargement of the Submarine Depot, till then solely consisting of an old cruiser, H.M.S. *Mercury*, anchored up Haslar Creek. Having seen the fort put into proper repair and well laid out for its work, he was put in charge

of the training of officers, as Captain of the sea-going depot ship *Bonaventure*, which work was carried on with conspicuous success. The Submarine branch grew rapidly, auxiliary depots being started in other ports, and it became necessary to appoint an Assistant Inspecting Captain, which post Captain Brandt was the first to fill under Captain S. S. Hall, and between them they thoroughly overhauled and organized the greatly increasing mass of office work involved. He became Captain in 1909, and, on Commodore Roger Keyes being appointed Inspecting Captain, returned once more to sea-going work and the training of officers, first in the *Bonaventure*, and then in the *Maidstone*, in which work he was engaged to the end of his time in the Submarine service (August 31, 1913) - in all about seven and a half years. It would have been a matter of great pride to him now (had he survived) to know how well those officers have acquitted themselves in the present war, amongst them Commanders Talbot, Horton, and Holbrook (all of whom were trained by him at one time or another), and that the first naval V.C. in this war has been gained by one of them (Commander Holbrook).

He was also a keen admirer of the East and its peoples for whom he had a great affection, and much of his leisure was spent in the study of Hindustani, which he had learnt while on a four years' commission as Torpedo Lieutenant in the East Indies from 1896 to 1900. Just before being appointed to the *Monmouth* he had actually applied for the guardship in the Persian Gulf, hoping in that way to come into contact with the East once more.

It was surely the irony of a cruel fate which sent him into a ship he never would have chosen - a ship which, according to *The Navy*, "deserved to be called a 'tinclad' rather than an armoured cruiser"* - and to the only part of the world in which he had no particular interest.

He was on half-pay, at his own request, till February 24, 1914, when he convoyed two submarines for the Australian

* For a full description of the ship see *The Navy* for January, p. 8.

Navy as far as Colombo, and, returning on May 21, joined H.M.S. *Monmouth* when the fleet was mobilized on the 1st of August last.

He married (September 20, 1900) Beryl, only surviving daughter of J. B. Pennington, Madras Civil Service, and Mrs. Pennington (*née* Drury), and leaves one son and three daughters.

In Captain Brandt the navy has lost a most promising officer in the very prime of life, one who, in the judgment of all who knew him, was certain to distinguish himself whenever he had the chance, or die, as he did, fighting to the bitter end. He had, perhaps, seen more submarine service than anyone else in the navy, and, as one of the boatswains of the *old Bonaventure* said to the writer some years ago, "If there's anyone in the navy who knows about submarines, it's Cap'n Brandt." This was when he was still a Commander.

He took the very greatest interest in every branch of his profession, was assiduous and inventive in his work, and extraordinarily popular with his subordinates who would have followed him anywhere. "It is the sedulous devotion to duty in the most unfavourable circumstances that is the true 'Nelson touch.'" During the comparatively short period when he was on half-pay, and was enjoying some well-earned rest after twenty-eight years of practically continuous service, he did a little writing for this *Review*, and his article, "The Maritime Communications and Defence of India," in the issue of February last, attracted a good deal of attention. Indeed, much of it is such a curiously correct forecast of the progress of the present war in the North Sea that it may be worth while to reprint some extracts from it :

"On the broadest lines, as far as can be foreseen, the greatest concentration of naval forces in the world would be in the North Sea in case of hostilities between the British Empire and any European Powers having their seaboard east and north of Dover, and in these circum-

stances the forces of all belligerents would be fully occupied in looking after each other, and but little could be spared from any main body for subsidiary work, such as trade destruction and interruption. It is just possible that a small detachment might get round the North of England and disturb the western ports and trade routes, but such a raiding force would within a very few hours either have to fight or retire. Similarly, isolated vessels breaking through the Straits of Dover might for a very limited time play havoc at the western entrance to the English Channel. Timely warning and good organization, such as causing all vessels bound for England from the East to call at Gibraltar for the latest news, should minimize risks from such stray marauders as might temporarily establish themselves on the last stages of the voyage to England.

"During a state of European tension, another great centre of concentration of naval forces would probably be in the western basin of the Mediterranean, and, as several Powers have possessions on the North African coast, in all probability there would be detachments of light craft for subsidiary purposes at various places from Alexandria westward; these vessels, together with others which could be detached from main fleets for trade harassing, without getting unduly out of touch with their main bodies and bases, would make the navigation of the Mediterranean extremely hazardous to the merchant ships of all belligerents. The confined nature of the Mediterranean makes it impossible to divert the normal trade routes to any great extent; this, combined with the fact that any detachment from home waters would be barely adequate for its work, makes it very much a matter for consideration whether the Mediterranean route to and from the East should not be abandoned in favour of the Cape route, until some decisive victory elsewhere should permit of a detachment being sent out sufficiently powerful to make raiding too hazardous to be worth the risks entailed.

"The total naval force of the British Empire east of Suez is in excess of the total of any European Power or combination of Powers. The units of the British force, however, are much scattered, and unless arrangements are very complete for marking down isolated craft, and concentrating rapidly against organized fleets, the chances of serious damage to trade, and perhaps disaster to some incomplete squadron, are considerable. We can, however, reasonably conclude that British naval strategy in the Far East provides for contingencies such as the above, and that

suitable rendezvous are arranged as points for concentration under the varying conditions which may arise.

"In conclusion, it may be broadly stated at present, taking ordinary probabilities into account, the trade routes between the British Isles and the East via the Cape are fairly safe; but to give greater confidence to the mass of people who have not studied this matter, and to prevent initial panic, it would be desirable to be able to spare more vessels from purely coast work." *January, 1914.*

"As a good sort of average working theory, a ratio of about ten to six should insure victory, if it does not restrain an eager foe from taking action at all. By this it is not meant that a man with a grasp of a situation would hesitate, even with no margin, should the country need it. As the aged Lord Howe said before the Battle of the First of June, 'England is now much in need of a victory,' and he got it; but it was of little real value beyond restoring confidence, for he was unable to follow it up owing to lack of a margin after the action. History is full of examples of other desperate victories, but as a rule their results on the general run of affairs were small. It is the crushing victory, followed by the relentless pursuit, which alone can assure that peace the attainment of which is the ultimate aim of war. *Closely connected with this matter is the question as to the extent to which the country should allow the love of its pocket to force the risk of failure on to its silent servants; the country knows this risk will be dutifully run, but does it wish for a repetition of the fate of Byng, with its pitiful ending on the quarter-deck of the 'Monarque'?* Is the story of Torrington, who was unable to do more than command 'a fleet in being' while the French paraded the Channel, a pleasant prospect to contemplate? Torrington was tried, and was lucky to escape with his life; *but the verdict of history is that the Government, and not Torrington, should have been in jeopardy.**

"As far as the ordinary layman can find out, by a careful study of good books of reference, the ratio of the Entente naval forces to those of the Alliance is about ten to six, except in the case of armoured cruisers, where it is about ten to four, and destroyers, where it is about ten to eight. Practically similar ratios hold good for the most powerful naval members of the respective groups. Of the Entente naval forces, England supplies well over half, and this seems but reasonable, as the military assistance she

can render is not very great. It therefore appears as if the present situation were satisfactory, more especially when the great preponderance of the English repair craft and auxiliaries, together with the advantages of voluntary enlistment of the personnel, are taken into account. The rate of growth of the Alliance forces, however, has lately been, and seems likely to be, more rapid than those of the Entente."—*February, 1914.*

"Our hearts are full, but with pride, not grief; they have gone with the
brave and true

To the warriors' great Valhalla in the faith that we share with you."

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., to be Lieutenant-Governor of Burma in succession to Sir Harvey Adamson, who will shortly retire on the expiration of his term of office.

The Secretary of State for India has made the following two appointments to the Indian Educational Service :

Mr. Patrick Bagot Quinlan, B.A. (Dublin), to be Principal of the Government High School, Akyab, Burma.

Mr. Llewelyn Gordon Owen, B.A. (Oxon), B.A. (Wales), to be Professor of Mathematics at the Government College, Rangoon.

He has also appointed Mr. William Fyfe to the post of Instructor in Manual Training for the Madras Presidency.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

With reference to the statement published in the German War News on January 23, as coming from Constantinople, in the following terms : "On the 21st instant an English force, under cover of three gunboats, took the offensive against our troops near Korna, but they were driven back with heavy loss. Our losses are without importance," the facts of this engagement, which took place on the 20th, were reported by General Barrett as follows :

"*January 20.*—Reconnaissance was made to-day at

6 a.m. from Mezera, in co-operation with Navy, to ascertain strength and disposition of the enemy's force near Mezera and Kuna.

"Our force found his outposts on the sand-hills to the south of the Ratta canal, about seven miles to the north of Mezera, and drove them across the canal and advanced into the marshes within six hundred yards of it.

"Severe loss was inflicted on the enemy. We shelled his dhows and camps, and he was driven back in disorder.

"His strength was estimated at about five thousand together with six guns.

"Casualties on our side were about fifty, and our withdrawal to Mezera camp was not molested."

The version given by the Turks of this reconnaissance is not unlike the German account of the recent naval action in the North Sea.

The Secretary of State for India communicates the following :

"As an instance of the friendly attitude shown by the Arab rulers at the head of the Persian Gulf, in connection with our operations against the Turks in that region, it may be mentioned that the powerful Sheikh of Koweit has made a contribution of Rs. 50,000 to the Red Cross Ambulance Society."

The Secretary of State for India has made the following appointments to the Indian Educational Service :—

Mr. John Rupert Firth, M.A. (Leeds), to be Master of the Training Class, Sanawar, Lahore.

Mr. Alexander Allan Simpson, M.A. (Aberdeen), to be Inspector of Schools in the United Provinces; and

Mr. Alexander Campbell, M.A. (Edinburgh), to be Professor of English at the Government College, Rangoon.

Mr. John Garnet Millar, B.A. (Oxon), has been appointed to the Chiefs' Colleges Branch of the Indian Educational Service, as Assistant Master (Temporary) at the Mayo College, Ajmer.

The Secretary of State for India has received information from the Viceroy of the following further contributions made in India in connection with the war :

His Highness the Maharaja of Datia, on behalf of himself and the nobles and people of his State, has arranged to give an annual contribution of Rs. 25,000, Rs. 6,000 being from His Highness's privy purse, towards the expenses of the war while it lasts.

The Nawab of Pataudi has made a contribution of Rs. 15,000, and His Highness the Rajah of Sailana has contributed Rs. 20,000, and His Highness the senior Rajah of Dewas Rs. 15,000, towards the expenses of the war.

His Highness the Maharajah of Rewa has given Rs. 5,000 for the purchase of vaselm for the Indian troops.

The Chiefs of Dhar, Barwani, Ali Rajpur, and Jhabua are purchasing and maintaining for use in Europe a unit of six motor ambulances in charge of the Rana of Barwani.

His Highness the Raja of Jhind is giving two motor-cars of the value of Rs. 25,000 for the Indian Expeditionary Force in Europe.

The Thakur Lachman Singh of the Bagsuri District, Ajmer, has given Rs. 1,000, and a further contribution of Rs. 100 a month for twelve months, towards the expenses of war.

SUPPLEMENT

SIR HARRY PRENDERGAST—AN APPRECIATION *

THE recently published Memoir of General Sir Harry Prendergast, V.C., G.C.B., should be read by everyone interested in India and her history. It has been written by another Royal Engineer who passed all his service in the Madras Presidency, Colonel Vibart, and he contends, not without reason, that his friend was an almost perfect realization of Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior." Certainly he has delineated a very fine character and a splendid soldier.

Sir Harry's early services were so brilliant and brought him such quick promotion that he became a Lieutenant-General when he was only fifty-two, and the Secretary of State decided that Burma, where he then commanded, must remain under a Major General. This was most unfortunate both for himself and for the country. He was just the man for Burma, and probably knew more of Upper Burma than anyone else. He had explored the whole frontier when in command of the Division. As "Mr. Jones" he had been shown over the Burmese forts near Minhla. And after the capture of Mandalay, on his own responsibility, he had gone up the Irrawaddy as far as Bhamo, collecting much valuable information at the riverside towns and villages. We may well believe that under his energetic guidance the pacification of the country would have been more rapidly achieved. It was unfortunate for himself also, because it precluded, or was made an excuse for shutting him out from, further high military command for which he had proved himself to be eminently fitted.

It seems worth while to give here a brief sketch of his career.

Arriving in India in October, 1856, when he was just twenty-two, he was posted to the Madras Sappers and Miners, a regiment with which he subsequently identified himself, and which is admitted to be an admirable corps, even by those who think that the ordinary Madras Sepoy has lost his old fighting power. Within six months of his first landing he joined Outram's force in Persia, where he and the B. Company of Sappers did some excellent work. On the outbreak of the Mutiny in May, 1857, they

* "The Life of General Sir Harry N. D. Prendergast, K.E., V.C., G.C.B. (the Happy Warrior)," by Colonel Henry H. Vibart, K.E. London: Eyreleigh Nash. 1914.

volunteered for service against the rebels, and joined the Deccan Field Force early in July. The story of their exploits during Sir Hugh Rose's advance on Jhansi is told very vividly, and for the most part in Prendergast's own words; for it may be assumed that when Colonel Vibart uses marks of quotation without any indication of the source, he is citing from his friend's own diaries or notes.

At Jhansi our "Happy Warrior" was very severely wounded in a daring charge on a battery. Apparently he was quite alone at the time, as the General had reined in with the Staff and Cavalry. A picture showing him rising for the jump will be found at p. 90, and his own description of the action is worth quoting:

"I chose a spot where it was possible to jump the ridge and went at it; in riding up to it only the heads of men and puffs of smoke could be seen. There was infantry in front, infantry to the right, the battery in front, and bullets pouring down like hail, so that I was inclined to put my head down to prevent their hurting my face. As I came down from the jump I found native artillerymen on my right and the Gwalior contingent on my left; several cut at me, but my horse and I kept our heads and went off, but it was weird work going forward with our wounds open."

For this exploit he received the Victoria Cross, but he was invalided home on account of his wounds and never recovered the full use of his left arm. At cricket he had to wear a special pad for its protection. In his official despatch Sir Hugh Rose wrote that he "on various occasions under my eye has distinguished himself by his merit and gallantry, as devoted as they were unostentatious."

Prendergast took every opportunity of volunteering for active service. In 1867-8 he accompanied Lord Napier's expedition to Abyssinia to rescue the prisoners held in durance by King Theodore. Chapter v. gives an interesting account of this, but it is enough to say here that he was Field Engineer and in command of three companies of his beloved Sappers, and that for this campaign he was given a Brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy. He had then only fourteen years' service.

During the next ten years he was in command of the Madras Sappers, and did much to raise them to that pitch of excellence which has led to their employment in every emergency. In 1878 he took four companies to Malta and Cyprus, when Indian troops were first employed in Europe. There was no fighting, as the desired object was otherwise obtained, but the move was of use in showing what large military resources we possessed in India if occasion should arise, as it has now arisen. Much useful and arduous work was done in Cyprus in surveying and pier-building. At one time the Sappers were working twenty hours out of the twenty-four. He was on very friendly terms with H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, who, he says, "acquitted himself admirably," and "was one of the hardest workers in the camp."

From 1880 Sir Harry commanded a brigade, first on the West Coast and then at Bellary. In 1883 he assumed command of the Burma Division, and a year later was transferred to Secunderabad. In all these commands he did splendid work in training the troops and fitting them for real work

in the field. Although untiring himself, he was always considerate of his men. At Bellary a Colonel, who had come there with a reputation for slackness, specially thanked him, saying: "No one else ever tried to teach me before."

In 1885 came the culminating point of his military career—the conquest of Upper Burma. It is impossible here to follow this in any detail. It is enough to say that under his able generalship, and owing to his careful preparations and the rapidity of his movements, Mandalay was occupied and a British administration established in little over a fortnight from the date on which he advanced from Rangoon. Well might the Viceroy telegraph his appreciation "of the military skill, the prudence and the humanity which had enabled (him) to attain such important results at such little cost of life and without engendering ill-feeling between ourselves and the people of Upper Burma."

After such an encomium from so judicious an authority as Lord Dufferin, one might have thought that there would be no cavilling; but it was not long before attacks came, and there is reason to apprehend that they were in some measure due to Bengal jealousy and the inordinate influence of *The Times*. The local correspondent of *The Times* had a personal interest in the War, and he certainly presumed on his connection with that great paper. Colonel Vibart shows very clearly that our "Happy Warrior" had ample ground for ordering him back to Rangoon. It is notorious that the same gentleman later on took pains to hamper the local administration. The reversal of the General's order, without hearing what he had to say, does not redound to the credit of the Home Government of the day.

That, however, was a small matter compared with the charge that the General neglected his duty by omitting to disarm Theebaw's troops. As a matter of fact he did take this precaution whenever it was practicable consistently with the main strategical object. As to the extraordinary treatment which he received from the Quartermaster-General's department in connection with the official history of the Expedition, perhaps the less said the better, although, as hinted above, it seems likely that some unworthy jealousy was at the bottom of this, and may not have been without its effect on his exclusion from further military command. For the conquest of Upper Burma he was made a K.C.B., but his Brigadiers received the same honour. It was not till the Coronation of King Edward, sixteen years later, that he became G.C.B.

On the other hand, both Viceroys and Madras Governors showed their sense of his merits by going out of their way to find him honourable political employment at Travancore, Bangalore, Hyderabad and Quetta. In all these Residencies he acquitted himself well, but they were rather of the nature of consolation prizes. His own desire and his peculiar aptitude were for military command.

The Memoir is enriched by several good photographs of our "Happy Warrior," including one in a small group of cricketers which has been curiously misplaced at p. 110. Obviously it should have been inserted at p. 187.

IN dealing with his life in England after his retirement in 1892, Colonel Vibart is far too profuse, but perhaps a few words will not be out of place here. It was a full and strenuous life, as might have been expected. He was a frequent contributor to the *Asiatic Quarterly*; he was a Director of the Madras Railway; he gave some useful lectures on military subjects; and he was Chairman or an active member of many committees in the neighbourhood of Richmond, where he resided. Notably he was a strong supporter of the Boy Scouts, of Lord Meath's Duty and Discipline Movement, and above all of that National Training which Lord Roberts in his lifetime unfortunately failed to introduce, but which there is now some hope may soon be adopted.

It was at an Addiscombe dinner soon after Prendergast's death that his character was well summed up by an old friend and comrade. He said he would not speak of him so much as an heroic and successful soldier, but "as the tried and warm hearted friend, the genial companion, the keen sportsman, *the man who came up smiling after hard knocks*, the man who never said an ill word of anyone, the clean-hearted gentleman." In that estimate all who had the honour of knowing him will concur.

PHILIP P. HUTCHINS.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

1. THE PROVINCIAL GEOGRAPHIES OF INDIA—"THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY." By Edgar Thurston, C.I.E. *Cambridge University Press.*

This delightful book, the first of the series, which very appropriately, as the Editor says, deals with the senior (if not in many ways also the premier) Presidency, so admirably got up in every respect and a model of what such a book ought to be is still to a Tinnevelly man most disappointing. Every real Tinnevellian is convinced that his district is at least *primus inter pares*, if not of all the districts the most distinguished, and yet there is nothing in this volume to show that it has any claim to special consideration except for the manufacture of grass-mats (which, by the way, are not made "at Tinnevelly," as stated, but at Pattamadai, ten miles away), which are no doubt the most beautiful grass-mats ever made, and the existence of the River Tambraparni and the town of Tuticorin. From the list of works laid under contribution it would almost appear that Mr. Thurston had never seen Bishop Caldwell's "History of Tinnevelly," a work which alone distinguishes Tinnevelly from every other district. If he had seen that book he would have known that there is no more beautiful country than the hills which divide it from Travancore, and no more picturesque or, for its size, more valuable river than the Tambraparni, which, though irrigating only about 100,000 acres, brings in a revenue of more than ten lakhs of rupees, quite double the average of the irrigated land of Madras generally, and approximating to that of Egypt. Even when describing Papanasam and its wonderful falls Mr. Thurston makes mention only of the feeding of the sacred fish; there is nothing to show that the whole neighbourhood has been raised to an extraordinary pitch of prosperity by the erection of the first spinning-mill in India driven by water-power, nothing about the exceptional character of Tinnevelly cotton; and though Tinnevelly jaggery is just mentioned on p. 220, there is scarcely a word about the millions of palmyras in the southern forests. --J. P.

2. YOUNG EARNEST. By Gilbert Cannan. London: *Martin Secker.* 6s.

"Love is the release of the spirit or it is not love?"

"And if others are to be unhappy"

"That is *their* affair."

The italics are ours, because it seems to us that in the unsufficiency of that pronoun to the personal situation of love's decay lies the rub of Mr. Cannan's thinking. Is it, in reality, only "*their* affair"—only the affair of those from whom we break, and not at all the affair of us who do the breaking? Does not some portion of the unhappiness touch the released spirit? The break achieved, the break which it may be best to achieve when love declares itself a bond rather than a liberation, do we step forward with undiminished zest to our next romantic adventure? Surely, to quote René Fourmy's words—words which seem to contradict our impres-

sion of his superficiality, "One is not born of a woman for nothing; something binds." And that something is for most of us, however acquainted we are with the truth of much of that which Mr. Cannan preaches concerning the folly, the impossibility, of playing the centurion to our affections, the human heart, with its infinite capacity for feeling, its most tragical habit of remembering—that, in fact, which is implicit in the old adage about experience making us sadder, though wiser, men. Granted that we could forget, that our experience could find full expression in "That is their affair," there is, of course, no reason on earth except the conventions, which men have not yet become reasonable enough to abolish, why we should be limited in our adventures, why we should not have the will to say when one vision has faded, "So much for that. Finished. I'll start again to-morrow."

To do Mr. Cannan justice, he does not altogether shirk this problem concerning the intrusion of the past into the present. Only he treats it incidentally and vicariously, as it threatened the confidence, not apparently of René Fourmy, but of Cathleen Bentley, the object of Young Earnest's third and last adventure.

"For many weeks it was a pain to her to see René, for she could not but remember the pain and destruction he had brought into other lives." There was the thought of Ann's child. "How could he have let that go? How could he thrust that back into the past? How could his feeling for herself have broken clear of that? Had he felt nothing at all?"

She never asked him these questions. She came to see that in trying to set her face against what cannot be altered she was but half escaped from the conventions of a world "that takes its greatest pride in its waste of opportunity."

And since, for her, escape was no more than an overcoming of thought, we can understand, and be glad of, her surrender. With René it is different. We rather incline to Professor Smallman's verdict of him: "The temperament of a clerk . . . no passion."

3. *SVARNALATA — SCENES FROM HINDU LIFE IN BENGAL.* By T. N. Ganguli. Translated by Dakshinacharan Roy. (London: *Macmillan and Co.*)

The inner life of a Hindu, their domestic relations, their thoughts and feelings and daily lives, must of necessity be a sealed book to the European, for apart from the difference of languages, the difficulties presented by the social customs are so great as to prove at times almost impossible barriers. A book of this description is of great value in helping to present such a life to the eyes of a foreign public. Perhaps if read in the original, and criticizing it from a purely literary standard, one might regret that the author has not confined himself to merely descriptive scenes, but has thought it necessary to weave them into a thin plot, for in so doing he has been led away by the penny novelette and cinematograph, and in his desire to see vice overthrown and virtue triumphant, has lost sight of the actualities of life and made his characters mere puppets, dancing artificially while he pulls the strings of melodramatic happenings.

As a description of village life—as a picture of the different types found in Bengal—this book is admirable. Although Mr. Ganguli has not hesitated to present the evil side of the social system prevailing, he has also shown strongly how the most beautiful love and devotion and self-sacrifice are found side by side with them. The interest of the book lies in the pictures it gives of Bengali homes, their lives, manners, and customs; and the translation of words and phrases almost literally, although sounding curious in English, in reality preserves the atmosphere and adds to the charm.

4. HERO-TALES AND LEGENDS OF THE SERBIANS. By Woislar M. Petrovitch. Illustrated by William Sewell and Gilbert James. (*George G. Harrap and Co.*) 10s. 6d. net.

At the present moment of the world's history one of the most important parts that have been played is by Serbia. At one particular moment the eyes of the whole world were turned anxiously towards that country, for events had happened which might give blaze to a world conflagration. The fire has burst with such violence that the first brand that was thrown is almost forgotten. Serbia, however, does not rely on this moment of the world's history for attention, she is a nation which has long been famous above all for tales and ballads, legends and stories, strong and tender, passionate and beautiful legends which have come down from mouth to mouth through generations, ballads which have been composed and sung by the workers in the field, the women at the cradle, the children in the playground—legends that have expressed all the passionate nationalism, all the love of beauty, the desire for independence that the Serbians have felt, even through centuries of vicissitudes. It is a well-worn saying that folk-tales and ballads are more characteristic of a nation, give a surer index to its soul, its history, than anything else. The descent of the Serbians from the great Aryan family is to be proved by the similarity of many of the folk-tales; in fact, one of the oldest legends, "The Saints Divide the Treasures," makes a direct reference to the people leaving India. This book has been compiled and translated with great care, and in the preface by the former Serbian Minister, M. Chedo Miyatovich, he says that now more than ever the Serbians wish the English people to understand them better, and no better understanding of the psychology and character of the people could be arrived at than by a study of the book.

The illustrations that accompany the tales are most charming in themselves, and the colouring is beautifully reproduced. The book is very tastefully got up, and would make a welcome addition to any library, and be a source of delight to both children and grown-up people.

5. THE DEMI-GODS. By James Stephens. (*Macmillan.*)

I am sure that the last thing for which Mr. Stephens put "The Demi-Gods" into the hands of his readers was that they should speculate about it. Speculation—personified or unpersonified—is not one of his demi-gods, and he would probably send it to hell along with the querulous Brien O'Brien. He allows us only to wonder and be astonished, and then, at the end of our amazement, to go to sleep, deeply and peacefully, as

Patsy and Mary MacCann did alongside the angels within an hour of their meeting. For those who like wandering, who like, for its own sake, the inconsequential and the surprising, there is much pleasure in this book. There is the charm for English readers always pertaining to the Irish language, and the terse, graphic idiom of those who speak only from personal and unsophisticated experience—an idiom which is matched so completely by the economy and sensitiveness of the dialogue's setting. There is the charm of unusual incident, and of that unusual incident's happening in a perfectly usual way. There is, too, the handling of those incidents by a poet. But for those who are not content 'merely to wonder, who want something more in a story than surprise and colour and lyrical phrases, there is often exasperation. Mr. Stephens does not satisfy these. What satisfaction he attempts is difficult to grasp, and is, moreover, curiously didactic and substantial, out of all proportion to its symbolism. Art's story needs a key—as it is, it is a veritable nightmare.

6. THE MAN OF EGYPT (the Coming Man). By Clayton Sedwick Cooper, M.A. (London: *Hodder and Stoughton*.)

The author describes himself as "simply an American, who, because of former fascinating studies and travels in Oriental lands, was influenced to spend some time in Egypt for the express purpose of studying present-day tendencies, and incidentally finding out, if possible, what such heavily freighted terms as 'capitulations,' 'Tel el-Kebir,' and 'Amenhotep III.,' were all about." Behind this façade of charming irresponsibility Mr. Cooper reveals a certain power of close observation and disinterested judgment. In the first chapter the author asks the plain question, "What is Egypt?" and informs us that in the first place it is the Nile, and secondly the Land of Problem. It is the most Eastern of the East. The third chapter is devoted to Lord Kitchener, whom he styles "Egypt's new Pharaoh." And he begins by quoting Lord Miler: "The usual English way to cure a bad situation is to seize upon the first strong man who can be found, and give him full power to do what he pleases." And, indeed, he holds that some such man was needed to cure Egypt from political ophthalmia. Very illuminating is his description of the difficulties that had to be encountered in Egypt during the Turco-Italian War, and the masterful way in which the British Agent overcame them. The major portion of the book is devoted to a study of "Young Egypt." He gives an admirable sketch of the way opposition to better education had to be checkmated before any headway could be made against the amazing illiteracy that reigned in Egypt. Especially it would seem was that the case when it was proposed to educate also the girls. He states that the El Azhar University has given Cairo the primacy over Constantinople, since it is in Cairo only that Koranic education can be most effectively obtained in Arabic, the only language respected by the orthodox Mussulman. Similarly, he considers it a more powerful Islamic centre than Mecca itself.

Mr. Cooper has not solved the riddle of Egypt—perhaps he never intended to—but he has made a very careful and successful study of the riddle.

LONDON THEATRES

St. James's Theatre—"Kings and Queens."

If there still exists anyone who believes that monarchs are a race apart from the common herd, it will be a salutary lesson to send him or her to see this piece. The characters are all of royal birth—from an emperor to a princeling, with their attendant satellites. In their manners and behaviour, thoughts and feelings, however, they in no way differ from their less exalted fellow beings. They have their petty quarrels and jealousies, their loves and hates, their virtues and vices, and, stripped of their titles, and renamed plain Mr. Brown, Mrs. Smith, Miss Jones, they would be very humdrum, uninteresting people. The plot is not very novel—a severe mother-in-law; a dutiful son with an exalted notion of his duty and position as a king; a young, pretty, frivolous wife, whose views are not so exalted; the inevitable *tertium quid* in the shape of a debonnair young prince; and the man of the world and *deus ex machina* in the shape of the emperor, as played by Sir George Alexander. The daughter-in-law is the square peg in the round hole, and although the king loves his wife dearly, having fallen in love with her, and gratified his personal feelings by marrying her against the wishes of mamma and in spite of State considerations, he now feels it necessary to whittle her into shape, and brings mamma to live with him and help in the process. The whittling process being rather unpleasant for the poor little queen, frequent scenes and upsets are the result, and, with the handsome cousin intervening, things come to a head, and she makes up her mind to run away. Her would-be lover's kiss brings her back to the fact that she still loves her husband, so she returns to him; and the third act is a scene of mutual reconciliations, and the curtain falls on a pretty tableau of "they all lived happily ever afterwards." The priggish young king is admirably played by Mr. Arthur Wontner, and Miss Marie Lohr is the pretty young queen. All the parts are acted as well as the scope of the piece allows, and one regrets that Sir George Alexander has not more opportunity of showing his well-known histrionic powers. After the many interesting pieces that have been produced at the St. James's Theatre, it seems rather a pity that a more original play should not have been selected to do justice to the actor-manager and his talented company.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1915

ROUMANIA, BULGARIA, AND THE DARDANELLES

BY J. M. KENNEDY

If the English public had been enabled, since last August, to know more about the opinions of neutral countries concerning the war than the authorities permitted to be brought to its attention, the forcing of the Dardanelles would be seen to be an even more important event than is now realized. The mere announcement that the outer forts had been shelled brought wheat prices down rapidly in New York and caused a panic in the Chicago wheat-pits. The gradual advance of the Allied Fleets led to a Cabinet crisis in Greece, and resulted, further, in the Italian Government's adopting a less non-committal attitude. Still, these factors, as the stockbrokers say, had been discounted. The hostility of Italy to Austria, as of Greece to Turkey, has for years been so notorious that the Entente Powers, or rather the publics dependent for information upon the Governments of those Powers, were not at all surprised to learn in which direction the sympathies of Greece and Italy were tending. What those publics were surprised to learn was that in every neutral country, including even Italy, the United States, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece, there was a strong pro-German element which was able to exercise considerable influence on the policy of the Government.

In the United States the large number of German immigrants is sufficient to account for the proportionately large number of German sympathizers; nor is the extensive Press campaign conducted by Count Bernstorff and Herr Dernburg without its effect even on the strictly "American" population. In the remaining neutral countries there were other factors upon which sufficient emphasis has not been laid in England. It should not be forgotten, though it generally is, that there are influential circles of opinion on the Continent which France has contrived to offend during the last decade. Her treatment of the Church, for instance, has never been forgiven by the Clerical parties in Italy and Spain, or by many of the aristocratic classes in those countries. Again, ever since the time of Boulanger it has been customary for French politicians to sneer at their own army. For twenty years the French Army has been snubbed within the borders of France, and the effects of the repeated snubbing were indeed widespread. Foreign military students who finished their course at St. Cyr hastened to Germany for practical instruction; for in Germany the army was a thing to be proud of; not something to be despised. General Savoff and General Fitcheff of Bulgaria, General Putnik of Serbia, were no less indebted to Germany for military training than was Enver Pasha or Djemal Bey. The result to-day is that in neutral countries whose sympathies the Allies are seeking the influence of the army is usually to be found, for reasons of military status, on the side of Germany; and in the Balkan States, not to mention the Iberian Peninsula, the decision of the army is not without considerable effect on the foreign policy of the Government.

After the army, the traders. There is no need to enter into tiresome statistics, for it is geographically evident that the business relations of the Balkan States must be, for the most part, carried on with Austria-Hungary and with Germany. One has only to remember the effect of the anti-Serbian "pig war." The sentimental feelings which

we too easily assume to govern the conduct of such States as Roumania and Bulgaria are felt, certainly, by the majority of the population, but not necessarily by that section of the population that directs the movements of the remainder. The exploiters of the Roumanian oil-wells are more interested in a new "gush" than in the political control of the mouths of the Danube, exactly as the largest dealers in Bulgarian roses have hazy ideas regarding the ownership of Adrianople. And then the Court influence. Even in the democratic Balkan Peninsula, where nearly everybody owns land in some form, and is therefore, in practice, economically independent, Court influences are strong, and they are not particularly favourable to the Entente Powers. It is not merely that King Constantine of Greece is the Kaiser's brother-in-law, that King Ferdinand of Bulgaria is a Coburg, that King Ferdinand of Roumania is of Hohenzollern origin. Look at the speeches on the power of the Crown made by Liberal Cabinet Ministers in this country so recently as last summer, look at the Republican example of France, and you will realize why monarchs in the Balkans, where benevolent despotism is better understood and practised than anywhere else, prefer the German to the Anglo-French systems of government and administration.

Admittedly there comes a time when the influences enumerated cease to prevail, a time when counter-influences become too strong for them. As the next stage of the war depends to a great extent on the attitude taken up by Roumania and Bulgaria, it will be well for us to understand what these different influences are. The Treaty of Paris (1856) and the Treaty of Berlin (1878) conferred certain political privileges on Roumania relating to the navigation of the Danube, and at various times within the last twenty years the Roumanian Government has reminded the Powers of the relevant clauses in these treaties. In 1856 the southern departments of Bessarabia were taken away from Russia and given to Roumania in order that the mouths of the Danube might be in the possession of

a small neutral country, and that freedom of navigation might thereby be ensured. By the Treaty of Berlin Roumania secured control of the Island of Serpents and of the Delta of the Danube; the European Commission of the Danube had its powers extended; and this Commission, which had hitherto comprised representatives of the Great Powers only, henceforth included a Roumanian delegate. By the Berlin Treaty, also, it was stipulated that the fortresses on the banks of the Danube, from the Iron Gates to its estuary, and consequently along Bulgarian territory, should be dismantled. This point was insisted upon (Article 52) for the sake of "strengthening the guarantees given for the freedom of navigation on the Danube." For the same reason it was laid down that no warship was to sail on the Danube beyond the Iron Gates; but the "stationnaires" of the Powers at the mouths of the Danube were permitted to pass as far as Galatz.

It has always been a bitter complaint on the part of Roumania that Bulgaria did not carry out the instructions laid down in the articles in the Berlin Treaty applying to her. For instance, up to 1913 Roumania was able to say that her own undefended bank of the Danube faced for a distance of more than 300 miles a series of Bulgarian fortresses—Vidin, Rahova, Nicopoli, Sistova, Rustchuk, Turtukai, and Silistria. Rustchuk and Silistria, in particular, were very strong fortresses, in excellent strategic positions. The Roumanians urged not only that these fortresses should be dismantled, but that a slice of Bulgarian territory—the "Rustchuk-Varna quadrilateral"—should be handed over to them. This area, situated in the Dobrudja, is naturally of great value. Appeals to the Powers, especially Russia, failed to bring Roumania any of these concessions. Russia held that the large accession of territory mapped out for Bulgaria in the Treaty of Santo Stefano had been considerably curtailed by the Treaty of Berlin; and until quite recently Russian diplomacy always favoured Bulgarian interests. An instance of the close

relationship of Russia and Bulgaria was seen in 1903, when a joint military convention secured for Russia the use of the port of Varna in time of war.

It has been necessary to enter into these details simply because they form the basis of the attitude towards the war now assumed by Roumania and Bulgaria. After the first Balkan campaign in 1912, when Bulgaria found herself faced with the hostile troops of her former allies, Serbia and Greece, Roumania, who had quietly been preparing, put forward a demand for the "quadrilateral," and proceeded to enforce it by mobilization. Under compulsion Bulgaria gave way, but she has never since forgiven either her former partners in the Balkan League or Roumania. It is true that Roumania did not obtain all she asked for; but she did get the fortress of Silistria and a portion of Bulgarian territory running from a point west of Turtukai to the south of Balchik, together with a few minor concessions. But then, as now, Roumania had other aims. In 1868 the principality of Transylvania was finally incorporated with Hungary, and with it more than three million Roumanians. It is a mistake to assume, as is so frequently done in the Allies' newspapers, that Transylvania is composed entirely of Roumanians who are suffering under the rule of the Magyars. There are many Germans and Austrians in Transylvania now; but there are sufficient Roumanians for Bucharest to establish a claim. Unfortunately, in 1894, Roumania found it advisable to conclude a military agreement with Austria-Hungary which made her, in practice, a partner in the Triple Alliance, though for a long time the partnership was not publicly acknowledged. Nothing could have better suited the interests of the pro-German Roumanian Court; but the alliance was repugnant to the Roumanian people.

Relations between the Governments of Roumania and Austria remained extremely cordial, however, until the Balkan settlement came to be discussed. Then, much to the surprise of King Carol and his Ministers, Vienna

supported Sofia. The interests of Germany and Austria in Asia Minor had become so vast that a friendly Bulgaria was more necessary to the Central Powers now than a friendly Roumania. Bulgaria had enlarged her territories at the expense of Turkey ; but German influence at the Porte speedily brought about a resumption of cordial relations between the Bulgarian and Turkish Governments. The Bulgarian Army and the Bulgarian Court have always been as friendly to Germany as the people have been sympathetic towards Russia. In spite of the rebuff from Vienna at the time of the Balkan settlement, Roumania did not immediately change her diplomatic course. Russia made friendly overtures, which were accepted, but the Court remained strongly pro-German until King Carol, *felix opportunitate mortis*, passed away last October. It was not until then that Roumanian statesmen felt themselves free to realize that now or never was the time to secure Transylvania. Military preparations were made notwithstanding the remnants of German influence at Court and the hesitancy of traders and financiers ; but the position of Bulgaria had not been thoroughly investigated. Precisely as Roumania had threatened Bulgaria in 1913, so did Bulgaria now threaten Roumania in 1914. Bulgaria professed strict neutrality ; and, in the face of much temptation from both sides, she has maintained it up to the time of writing. But even a profession of neutrality might have been compatible with the re-acquisition of the "quadrilateral," in which most of the people are Bulgarians. Roumania was not united, though she was nearly united, on the question of Transylvania. Indeed, the politicians at Bucharest were more zealous than discreet. The Opposition urged the Government to go to war at once, and the Government showed that it required little urging. Deputations were sent to Italy, and joint action was spoken of. The result was inevitable. A large force of troops, partly Austrian and partly German, was sent to the Roumanian frontier in readiness for

emergencies. Russia continued her advance into the Bukovina and Transylvania: but these were precisely the district where Roumania's own interests lay. The Bucharest Government realized that it would look foolish, and run some danger of risking its neck, if it allowed Transylvania to pass out of the hands of Hungary into those of Russia; but the Bulgarian menace prevented participation in the war at a time when participation would have been particularly useful from the point of view of Roumania, though not from the point of view of the Allies. It would have been to Roumania's advantage to join issue with Austria six weeks ago, or even more. It is to the interest of the Entente Powers to hold her back until the Dardanelles have been forced.

The attitude of Bulgaria is comprehensible enough. She took the leading part in the war against Turkey when the Balkan League entered on its campaign in the autumn of 1912. She suffered, in proportion, more heavily than any of her partners, both in men and money and neglected industries, and she gained least. Greece turned her out of Kavalla; Serbia deprived her of her share of Macedonia. To crown all, when Bulgaria was being harried by her allies of a few months' standing, the despised and beaten Turk stole up to Adrianople, captured from him after a siege, and took possession of his historic citadel with hardly the necessity of firing a shot. Nobody helped Bulgaria at this time. Germany and Austria bestirred themselves afterwards, but the seaport was lost and Adrianople was lost. Adrianople! when even Constantinople itself seemed at one time to be within King Ferdinand's grasp! In the circumstances it is not surprising that Bulgaria refused to be cajoled by any party when the war broke out. She owed the Entente Powers nothing, and she owed Germany and Austria a bare neutrality.

This, at any rate, was the view held by the army, by the Government, and by many of the people. But the general sentiment of Bulgaria, as distinguished from the

feelings of particular classes, was unmistakable. The people were pro-Russian, and it is said that M. Radoslavoff, the Prime Minister, urged King Ferdinand to intervene. How to recover Adrianople without risking the safety of the nation was a problem which many politicians—and in time, apparently, even the Government itself—were considering. No definite move was made. Official Bulgaria was as adamant as ever, and to all suggestions, hints, threats, and bribes, the one reply was returned—neutrality. With a dour doggedness that was almost Scottish Bulgaria refused to be drawn. It is true that a well-known Bulgarian statesman and ex-Prime Minister, Dr. Ghenadieff, visited Italy; but even when he had spent two or three weeks at Rome, and prepared to return to Sofia, the purpose of the visit was as much a secret as if it had never been made. At a time when it was generally believed in England that the services of small States could be had in exchange for small loans, the Bulgarian attitude certainly inspired respect.

On February 19, when the Allied Fleet appeared at the entrance to the Dardanelles, the hesitating, pro-German elements in Bulgaria and Roumania began to reconsider their position. A week's shelling made it clear that the warships would eventually get through. The manœuvre was widespread in its effects. Italy began to tremble for her Asia Minor concessions, chief among them being the railway from Adalia to the interior. And both Greece and Bulgaria thought of Constantinople, the capital that meant so much to them. By the middle of March there was an insistent cry for war in Greece, and a more definite tendency to intervention in Sofia. It was clear to all concerned that the Allies would let none share in the fruits of victory who had not fought for them at some stage of the campaign. The possession of the Dardanelles, followed as it would be by the possession of the Turkish coast on both sides of the Sea of Marmora to the Bosphorus, meant the control of the Balkan Peninsula—a control which would be

one-third Russian. Roumania, having demanded for more than thirty years the neutralization of the Dardanelles, was more eager than ever to set her troops marching. One factor which would have prevented this earlier had been considered, and this was the question of money.

The recent announcement that England had lent Roumania five millions sterling—or, rather, that war credits had been opened for her here to that value—was not surprising, in view of the services which the Roumanian Government was expected to render; but it was foolish of many critics to assume that England, by a loan of five millions, had bought Roumania, lock, stock, and barrel. Almost at the same time as we heard of the Roumanian loan, we were told that Bulgaria had borrowed three million pounds from Germany in the same way—*i.e.*, by means of war credits. This three million loan, we were further told, was on account of a loan of twenty millions contracted by Bulgaria last summer, before the outbreak of war, with Berlin banks. It is advisable not to lose sight of this financial point. The Roumanian Public Debt—and Roumanian finance is, to say the least, in a rather chaotic state—amounts to some sixty-three millions sterling, including the English loan. It should be added that about fifty-five millions of this sum is held in Germany and Austria, rendering Roumania financially dependent on enemy Powers to that extent. It is true that interest payments may be suspended during the war; but, when financial and trade relations are borne in mind, it will be apparent that this indebtedness cannot be lightly passed over.

Bulgaria's finances are clear enough. The Public Debt in 1911 was £24,000,000. The main items making up this amount were the loans of 1889, 1892, 1902, 1904, and 1907, for £1,200,000, £5,700,000, £4,250,000, £4,000,000, and £5,800,000 respectively. Of these, the loans of 1889 and 1892 were contracted in Vienna; the loan of 1902 was made up by Russian and French Banks; the loan of 1904

was advanced by a Paris bank ; and the loan of 1907 was guaranteed jointly by French, Russian, Austrian, and German banks. It was estimated that the Balkan War cost Bulgaria £20,000,000, though the estimate would be much higher if material damage and loss of trade were reckoned in the cost as well as the amount actually spent on the army.

It will be seen from this that both Bulgaria and Roumania are already heavily indebted to German and Austrian financiers ; and most of the Balkan States have now borrowed up to the limits of their resources. One other factor must not be forgotten. When Turkey-in-Europe was apportioned among the States forming the Balkan League, it was decided that each Balkan State was to become responsible for a proportion of the Ottoman Public Debt, since the loss of territory naturally decreased Turkey's revenue. The International Financial Commission which sat in Paris left intervals of months between its stormy sittings, and at last found its labours interrupted in consequence of a still greater war. When these questions are finally decided, it will be found that the production of pigs, currants, roses, and oil will have to be increased before Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Roumania are able to pay their interest. This is a factor which Balkan bankers do not overlook. But the successive victories of the Allies in the Dardanelles have encouraged the Balkan peoples ; and if they have their way the interest on the Ottoman Public Debt may finally be paid out of the produce of the rich territories of Hungary.

ALBANIA ON THE BALKAN CHESS-BOARD

BY AUBRY

ALBANIA, with Servia and Montenegro bordering on her frontiers to the north and east, and Greece to the south, is locked in between the sea and the two powerful Slav and Hellenic elements from which she stands distinct and alien.

Up to the beginning of the Balkan crisis, which seems to have been, as it were, the first subterranean commotion of the coming upheaval that was to devastate Europe, Russia and Austria were the two ruling factors of the Balkans. Austrian ambitions were naturally favoured by her ally Germany. Russia, on the other hand, standing for Slavdom, fathered Slav aspirations, and found support for her policy in the two other members of her group of Powers—England and France; Greece ranged her interests on the side of the Slavs. So that not to be a Slav or a Greek became equivalent in the Balkans to being an enemy of the Triple Entente. Circumstances mapped this out, and not the free will of the small Balkan States.

Throwing a glance backwards, we see that the plain of the Vardar, which divides Macedonia into two parts, was destined to be the arena where the two influences came into collision. Russia traced the limits of her zone of influence in the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, the whole of Macedonia forming part of an indivisible Bulgaria, the *tsielo*

coupna Boulgaria. Austrian policy had also had its treaties concluded to counterbalance the Russian influence, in the shape of the secret treaties of 1881 and 1889, made with King Milan, the Servian King, who, for his part, was promised the plain of the Vardar and the western half of Macedonia, on condition of Servia renouncing her intentions upon the Adriatic, her "Pan-Servian" ambitions, that is, of securing the annexation of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and finally all the Servian-speaking countries as far as Zagreb.

It is well to recall all this, in order to realize that the interests of the European Powers have always played havoc in the Balkans without any thought for the welfare of the Balkan peoples, whose one source of weakness lies in the lack of co-operation amongst themselves, which leaves each separately too weak to make its voice heard.

Since Albania has been separated from Turkey she has become a prey to Austrian ambitions, because of the access that her seacoast offers to the Adriatic Sea.

A Teutonic Prince was set on the throne, a man whom only the French word "nullité" describes accurately: a man, that is to say, who is nil as regards both character and abilities. This was a direct result of the ill-will displayed by the Triple Entente towards the formation of an independent Albania, because it was arranged beforehand, between the great Powers, that Albania was to come within the Austrian sphere of influence. Now, the humour of the situation is that, because the Albanians could not get on with their German Prince, found him, to be crude, an undesirable alien, it is to be taken as a proof of their pro-German sympathies that a German Prince was forced upon them.

What Albania really wanted was autonomy under the suzerainty of Turkey. To many good people the Turk means the abomination of desolation, and to wish to maintain Turkish rule as against the liberation claimed by the other races of Greek and Slav origin was damning to the

Albanians. Now comes the downfall of Turkey in Europe, through the foolishness—for no other word is adequate—of the Committee of Union and Progress, which steadily led Turkey to ruin.

In this dread, gigantic contest which convulses the Great Powers of Europe it may seem cynical to say, but it is only in accordance with the lessons taught through the ages, that the weak will pay the price. To what extent was there a Machiavellian intent on the part of Germany in attracting and enticing Turkey into an alliance? If Germany finds herself beaten, she knows she can appease many European appetites by saying, "I offer the body of my ally to partition between yourselves," while she herself remains immune. In case of victory, on the contrary, Turkey was only to be swallowed up in the great "Pan-German" doctrine of world extension, so that the purpose was two-fold.

The sympathy of the Triple Entente is with Serbia. Much as Serbia may be admired for her bravery and fortitude, her amazing vitality and power of recuperation, which has enabled her to bear three successive wars, exhausting in blood and money, with all glory to her arms—these are no reasons for giving over to Serbia that which does not belong to her—furthermore, that which she would ill-use. We must be broad and human enough to realize each rational and racial standpoint. We have only to remember that in private life the most bitter antagonisms exist between people who are entirely noble and lovable, judged separately from the neutral standpoint of the impartial observer.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is beyond controversy Slav. To give Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia is only bare justice, and by the sea-power that this will bring to Serbia, and in the measure in which human lives count for nought, Serbia will find ample compensations for her losses and the true outlet of her national ambitions.

If Albania *must* be sacrificed, the only solution in accordance with a humanitarian standard is to give over Albania to Italy. Between Italian and Albanian there is no grudge, no race hatred, no bitter vendetta which has left an indelible trace of blood throughout the passing generations. The Turk, as becomes a warrior, has never been a tradesman—this being the ethical reason of his utter failure to play his part with any success to himself in our Commercial Age. Many Albanians of the south, therefore, speak Italian because they have traded with Italy. The Albanians are, moreover, a Roman race, and union with Italy, as against piecing off between Greece, Servia, or Montenegro, appears to be the one desirable solution.

Why, however, should not Albania have the right to live and survive on the Balkan chess-board, forming a little independent kingdom such as Montenegro?

Montenegro is Slav by race and in sympathies. Yet Montenegro has never been swamped by her gigantic ally Russia. Montenegro has kept her national individuality. She is Montenegro and nothing else. To those who object that the Montenegrins deserve their independence because they have displayed in their past history an *esprit de corps* which is utterly lacking in the Albanians, let it be pointed out to what measure of intrigue Albania has been subjected. Austria and Italy, while appearing to be working together, both desired the Albanian seacoast as a separate aim. Simultaneously, Greece and Servia wished to absorb Albania.

There is no doubt that Greece has committed a blunder in not looking with kindness and sympathy on the first steps that her humble little neighbour was making along the path of liberty, free from the fetters, but also from the protection, that Turkey had afforded her for six centuries.

Greece owns a past of almost overwhelming magnificence. The star of Greece was obscured by dark clouds. Now it is shining again, ever higher and brighter, till it seems that

it would recover its former brilliancy. There is a great future for Greece. The factor we must not forget is that in the glorious era which has made Greece unique in the world's history, or in their centuries of obscurity and adversity, and subjection to an alien master, the Greeks have always been, and always will be, the traders of the Near East. It is but an expression of the contrariness of human nature that they had the genius for commerce when they carried art to the highest pinnacle. Is it, therefore, to the best interests of Greece to find herself faced by a strong Italy in the Adriatic, or by an overwhelming Slav majority? Undoubtedly not the latter. The consolidation and strengthening of Albania was all to the advantage of Greece. But Greece chose to take the attitude of the bully, of the contemptuous rich man towards an impecunious neighbour. "Who is this Mr. Nobody who wants a place in the sun? I refuse to call on him," was the attitude of Greece towards Albania.

At the present juncture a word from Greece in favour of Albania would completely alter the policy of France. France is the one country in the world which is the most easily moved by abstract reasons. France has always felt that she owed an intellectual debt to Greece that could never be adequately repaid. It is far more from tenderness for Greece to grant to Greece, mother of art and literature, every one of her requests; that France was antagonistic to a strong Albania than for any other cause. All the other reasons—the fear of Austrian preponderance in the Near East, the wish to act in accordance with Russian aims—have been only secondary with France.

And it has come to pass that France, whose innate chivalry has always caused her to defend the weak, the helpless, before all, the "unpopular" causes, is the bitterest enemy of a poor, friendless, little people. It is not a base commercial purpose that leads the actions of France, but the feeling on her part that she has a tremendous intellectual indebtedness to Greece.

The Greeks are very different from the Slavs, and although they are allies at present, it cannot be the wish of any far-seeing Greek statesman, as has already been pointed out above, to give to the Slavs an all-powerful hand in the Balkans.

In the granting of integrity to Albania, England was by far the most aloof in purpose, and therefore the most fair. It has always been the destiny of England, because of her insular position to be, in a sense, isolated from Continental politics, and even when she enters Continental policy, and is one of the disputants in a Continental conflict, still she remains able to judge Continental affairs from further afield than Continental nations themselves. There is no doubt that at the time of the Conference of London two years ago—when Balkan disputes were to be “settled” by the Great Powers—England displayed a marked propensity to be kind to Albania, and, given a free hand, would have dealt far more generously with Albania than she did.

Now, the thought that is in the mind of every thinking person is the “remodelling of the map of Europe.” The future is dim. We cannot see into the future, for the smoke of the battlefield still hides distant prospect. No nation in the world, at the hour of this dread conflict, really knows what is in store for her.

Granted an uncompromising victory on the side of the allies, the dream of the idealist, roughly sketched, would set down the principle of nationalities on these broad lines :

Before all things the regeneration of Poland the Martyr. What the treatment of Poland has been at the hands of Europe is one that it is unwise to consider too long for fear of altogether despairing of human nature.

Bohemia should recover its national independence.

Hungary should belong to the Magyars.

Alsace Lorraine comes naturally to France, as Schleswig Holstein returns to Denmark.

In France the view is strongly urged that there should

be a confederacy of the South German States, including Austrian Austria—that is, all the territory occupied by those of pure Austrian nationality.

Hanover should once more be a kingdom.

But what of Prussia? Even the idealist must make a pause.

We cannot destroy the Prussian race on barbarous and simple lines of annihilation, great as our resentment may be against the blood-guilty nation of the world.

When we look on a medieval chart of Europe we see that the "Teutonic kinglets" did not occupy much room in their eagle nest. Much as the harsh Northerners have progressed since then, still Prussia can be kept, as Prussia, alone, within boundaries where she would be once more the small country that she was for so long, and utterly powerless to cause another European catastrophe.

The world is generally poised between the dreams of the idealist and the aims of the materialist. As a result nothing is ever thoroughly good or hopelessly evil in the actions of mankind.

How much of the above programme will become reality it is difficult to say. *Some*, but not *all*, of it is the humble opinion of the writer of this article.

But, in any case, cannot room be granted to Albania on the Balkan chess-board?

Albania has this one distinguishing feature which, surely, should speak in her favour—she cannot hurt anybody, and by the mere fact of existing she can stand between those who might be tempted to do one another harm.

QUATRAINS OF "OMAR KHAYYAM "

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

These verses are line for line, and almost word for word, translations of the original Persian. The Translator has added nothing of his own, and has not presumed to meddle with the thoughts or imagery of the Persian Poet —J. P.

64.

In heart desire for maiden dear—
In hand the wine-cup all the year ;
Men say, " May God to you shrift grant,"
Avaunt ! of such I feel no want !

65.

Taverns give one ablution—Wine !
A name once soiled no more can shine ;
So torn our temperance-veil is here
It can't be mended ; so good cheer !

' 66.

I saw a man on Palace roof
Who trampled clay without behoof ;
The clay in mystic accents said—
" Cease ! You'll be trampled when you're dead !"

67.

Sweet day—wind neither hot nor cold—
Down rose's cheek the rain has rolled ;
Cries nightingale to yellow rose—
" Wine ! Wine ! drink Wine till time shall close !"

68.

Ere Fate attacks thy drooping brow
Let rosy wine be ordered now ;
No gold art thou that—witless swain !—
Men bury and dig up again.

69.

Friends ! stay me with the Wine-cup, do !
To amber face give ruby hue ;
Wash me in Wine, and when I die,
Let me in vine-planked coffin lie.

70.

King ! Heaven decreed thy kingdom's course,
And saddled for thee Empire's horse ;
And when thy Charger golden-shod
Touched dust—gilded became the sod.

71.

No worth has Love that's insincere —
No warmth give dying embers here ;
No peace—no food—no sleep—no cheer,
Knows Lover true, day, month, or year !

72.

" Forever's " secrets none hath solved ;
Nor from his orbit fixed revolved ;
Tyro and Teacher—all can see—
Alike in impotence agree.

73.

The World foreswear ! Contented be,
From Good and Bad thy soul set free !
Drink Wine ! with Darling's ringlet's play ;
All passes—Time can never stay !

74.

The Heavens rain blossoms from the cloud,
 And with gay blooms the gardens crowd,
 In lily cup I pour red wine—
 As violet clouds pour jessamine.

75.

I drink—each worthy man drinks—Wine ;
 My drinking's naught to God divine ;
 God knew from first that I should drink,
 God's wit with ignorance who'd link ?

76.

Permit not Sorrow's sad embrace,
 Nor let dull Grief your joys efface ;
 Forsake not lip and love and field,
 Till dust to dust you needs must yield.

77.

Drink wine ! It takes your woes away ;
 Sects seventy-two it won't let stay ;
 From the alémbic don't refrain !
 One draught drives off full many a pain.

78.

Tho' Wine be bamed, yet much depends
 On Drinker, quantity and friends ;
 If these be well-conditioned —say !
 What Sage from Wine would keep away ?

79.

Drink Wine ! Thy form becomes dust-cake,
 From which men jars and goblets make ;
 Of Heaven and Hell have thou no care !
 Why should Deception wise men snare ?

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA

BY THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.

SIR JOHN STRACHEY tells us that "the first and most essential fact that can be learned about India is that there is no such country." That sounds paradoxical; but Sir John Strachey was anxious to dispel a popular error, and it was for that reason, doubtless, that he made use of a phrase calculated to arrest the attention. The error which he sought to correct was, of course, the error of the man who, when he thought of India, visualized it as a country like Great Britain, instead of as a continent like Europe. I do not suppose that Sir John Strachey would have claimed that the analogy presented by Europe was a particularly exact one, but it was at any rate good enough for his purpose—namely, that of putting those who were willing to learn on the right track.

Imagine a region the size of all Europe, excluding only Russia, with a population of 315 millions practising nine great religions and speaking 185 different languages. That is India, looked at from the point of view of the statistician. But statistics are dry bones. If they are startling, as Indian statistics are, they merely bewilder; if they are commonplace, they leave us cold. If their meaning is to be realized, they must be seen clothed with flesh and blood. And that is where, in the case of a continent like India, the traveller has the advantage over the resident. He cannot hope to acquire the intimate

knowledge of particular localities which the resident possesses, but he can take a more detached and comprehensive view of India as a whole. When, within the space of a few months, for instance, one has been thrown into contact with the courtly and intellectual Brahmin of Southern India, the primitive Kohl or Bhil of the jungles of Central India, the quick, intelligent, and shall it be added somewhat precocious inhabitant of the towns of Bengal, the Mohammedan landholder of the United Provinces and the Punjab, the indolent and easy-going Burman, the businesslike Parsee of Bombay, and the picturesque chieftain of Baluchistan, then statistics as to race and language assume for one definite meaning and reality.

The pundits will tell us that it is impossible to generalize about India, and in the main the pundits are no doubt right. It is obvious that in the case of a region stretching over 40 degrees of longitude and 28 degrees of latitude, generalizations only hold good subject to large qualifications. Nevertheless, there are certain rough generalizations that may be made. Thus we may say that India is essentially an agricultural country, and the correctness of our assertion cannot be disputed. Seventy-two per cent. of the population, or approximately 219,000,000, are dependent upon agriculture in one form or another for their livelihood. The population as a whole lives in small country towns and villages. There are in the whole of the huge continent less than 750 towns with a population of 10,000, and only thirty towns with a population of 100,000 and upwards. And the general accuracy of our statement is not invalidated by the fact that, in Calcutta and Bombay, India possesses the second and third cities of the British Empire.

Again, take the case of climate. We may say in a general way that India is a hot country; and the fact that there are parts of India where cold weather is experienced during certain seasons, and other parts where a winter of almost arctic severity prevails, does not disprove our general con-

tention. If India was not a hot country, it is improbable that we should supply the peoples of India with something between one and a half and one and three-quarter million miles of cotton cloth every year, as in point of fact we do.

We may also venture to assert that as a general rule the outstanding characteristic of Mohammedan architecture is its simple grandeur of outline, its purity, and its stateliness, while Hindu architecture is characterized by an amazing exuberance of ornamentation and an elaborate intricacy of design. There always seems to me to be a suggestion of austerity about the former, something almost meretricious about the latter.

Lastly, in the domain of philosophy it would, I believe, be true to say that, excepting in those regions which are dominated by the creed of Islam, the doctrine of *karma* and transmigration has exercised an almost universal sway.

Very well; having dissented from too hard-and-fast an interpretation of the statement that you cannot generalize about India, I am ready to subscribe to it generally. I should be quite ready to assent to the proposition that a man who had always lived in Bengal, while able to write an excellent and authoritative book on that province, based solely on personal experience, could not, without first extending his experience, write a book of any value upon India as a whole. I recognize fully, that is to say, the amazing diversity of India, and I propose to give some of the impressions which have been left on my mind by various visits to different parts of the Indian continent.

One's first impressions are usually formed at Bombay. It is sixteen years since I first set foot on the island of Bombay, and my impressions formed then were, so far as I can judge, very much those of the average tourist. But the tourist does not usually see the real Bombay. He contents himself with an early-morning visit to the fruit and bird market and the Arab stables. He then purchases an outfit for his coming tour in India—hold-all, blankets, and solar topee—and drives to the Towers of Silence in the

afternoon. If he is very enterprising, he may get as far as the Victoria Gardens and the caves of Elephanta; and having done so, he congratulates himself on having done Bombay. He has only seen the shadow of the real Bombay in the heavy pall of smoke-haze that hangs over the land across the bay; and he is probably quite unconscious of the fact that behind that murky curtain is a vast industrial community whose pulses beat to the ceaseless whirr of the spindle and the palpitating crash of the loom. I discovered these things later on, and after a mere stroll through the damp and enervating atmosphere of a Bombay cotton-mill I felt no surprise that legislation had recently been passed prohibiting the employment of operatives for more than twelve hours a day.

Bombay has been the pioneer in Indian industrial enterprise. It was a Parsee who built the first Indian cotton-mill in 1854, and to-day 85 out of the 266 cotton-mills of the continent are to be found in the city. In this branch of industry Indians have proved eminently successful, and, in spite of the cotton excise duty, Bombay can boast of its merchant millionaires. Another Indian enterprise is an ambitious scheme for supplying the city and its industries with electric power. Some ingenious person evidently had his attention arrested by the remarkable character of the returns for the rainfall round about the summit of the Ghauts mountain-chain. At Igatpuri, a little short of the summit, as much as 130 inches are registered, whereas at Goti, six miles further east, the annual rainfall is only 60 inches. Clearly, then, the monsoon, as it burst against these mountain ramparts, precipitated vast masses of water, which simply ran to waste. Why should not this mass of potential energy be caught and harnessed? Certain wealthy and capable citizens of Bombay saw no reason, whence it comes about that a sum of nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds—subscribed in India after London had been offered the opportunity of doing so and had refused—is being spent in the construction of huge reservoirs, in which in future the

prodigal rainfall of the wet season will be caught and stored. This will provide the necessary force for great hydro-electric power-stations. The present scheme, which is capable of indefinite expansion, will provide the city with 40,000 horse-power, which will be delivered at the mills at a charge of '55 of a penny a unit.

Vast new docks, now practically completed, have been under construction for some time past by a body known as the Port Trust. When I last went over the works, two years ago, a dry-dock, 1,000 feet in length, was nearing completion, and I was informed that when finished the ordinary docks, with an area of 50 acres, would accommodate seventeen ships, each 520 feet in length. Immense sheds were in process of construction, and five miles away over 500 acres of land were being reclaimed to provide a site for cotton, coal, manganese, and other depots, the whole area being linked up with the docks by railways. It is estimated that the total cost of these great harbour works will be £4,000,000—a sum exactly equal to the original official estimate of the amount required to fit India out with a brand-new Imperial capital!

For me, then, Bombay is chiefly interesting as being symptomatic of the economic transition which is taking place in India. It is here that is to be found the main-spring of the movement which is beginning to create in India large industrial enterprises which must inevitably bring in their train far-reaching changes in the existing structure of the Indian social organism. The city is, in fact, India's reply to the contention put forward by Lancashire during the bitter controversy over the Indian cotton duties in the nineties, that the sole function of India in the Empire's commerce scheme was the production of raw material, and is an earnest of her intention vigorously to proceed upon an industrial career. In this determination the Indian Government, if they are wise, will afford her all the assistance and encouragement that it is within their power to give.

From Bombay I once travelled straight to the jungles, which stretch away from the southern borders of the United Provinces far into the Central Provinces. Nothing modern or up to date here. It is curious, when once you get beyond the sphere of influence of the railways, what a different world you find yourself in. We have built nearly 35,000 miles of railway in India, and we are making an annual capital outlay of something like £12,000,000 on railway development—not a bad performance, on the whole. Nevertheless, in order to adjust our ideas in accordance with familiar standards, it may be pointed out that it would require not 35,000 miles, but 346,926 miles of railway to place India on a par with the British Isles in the matter of railway communications. For my own part, I confess that I am always very willing to give up the locomotive for camels, elephants, and other primitive forms of transport, and to exchange the rather desperate business of normal civilized life for something a little nearer to nature.

In the regions of which I am now speaking, man still wages fierce warfare with the wild. We all know, of course, that such things as man-eating tigers exist; but I doubt whether it is generally realized how great is the yearly toll that is exacted by beasts of prey at the expense of the more primitive Indian peoples. The official returns for 1911 show a loss of 767 persons and 28,832 cattle killed by tiger alone, and a total mortality due to the ravages of wild beasts of all kinds during the same year of 26,242 people and 102,240 cattle. With these figures in mind, one derives real satisfaction from the shooting of a tiger.

Apart from the sport to be obtained, one finds much of interest in the peoples themselves, and in their attitude towards the Government. For them the Government is the collector, who is regarded, so far as I have been able to judge, not merely as the Government, but as Providence in the flesh. Camped in the vicinity of a village of wattle and mud, enclosed on all sides by vast forests of sāl, aura, ebony, tamarind, and a dozen varieties more, with the

collector meeting out justice, settling disputes, and generally playing the part of providence assigned to him, Bombay, with its palatial buildings, its mills, and its universities, its boards and its councils—legislative and executive—all the paraphernalia, in fact, of the twentieth-century civilization of the West, seems infinitely far away.

Another part of India that has always possessed an extraordinary fascination for me is the north-west frontier. Lord Curzon once said that "frontiers are the razor's edge, on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life and death of nations"; and certainly the issues of war or peace have hung in the balance often enough on the rugged crests of the mountains which rise in fantastic outline along the vast reaches of India's land frontiers. The names of the few gaps in the huge ramparts on the north-west which admit of the passage of troops have inevitably become historic. The Bolan, the Gomal, the Khyber, are all names bound up in the history of the wild and passionate Indian borderland. It was through the Khyber that Māhmūd of Gazni—a stern and terrifying figure—swept with his fierce and fanatical legions in A.D. 1001, thus inaugurating the long series of Mohammedan incursions which have swept over the plains of Northern India, and even penetrated far into the South; and which have incidentally been responsible for adding something like seventy million Mohammedans to the vast tally of those owing allegiance to the British Crown.

It was at Peshawar that Māhmūd defeated the Rajputs, and nine miles west of Peshawar there stands to-day a small mud fort—Jamrud—keeping watch and ward over the mouth of the famous pass. From here an excellently graded and metalled road twists and turns for twenty miles through the mountains, passing the fort of Ali Musjid, perched on an isolated hill rising in the middle of a wild ravine halfway, and débouching on to a comparatively open space, on which are scattered a few small villages in the midst of patches of struggling cultivation. Here, too,

stands the fort of Landi Kotal—the ultimate outpost of Great Britain in the direction of Afghanistan. A short distance beyond the fort the political frontier is reached, and British rule and metalled roads come to an abrupt end.

The ethics of the Khyber Pass are interesting. It lies in a country inhabited by the Afridi. Now, the Afridi is chiefly remarkable for two characteristics—an ineradicable instinct for plunder, and a consuming passion for a rifle. The mere possession of a rifle engenders in him an irresistible desire to let it off—preferably at a fellow-being; yet it is an unwritten law, which possesses all the inviolability of the laws of the Medes and Persians, that no man shall shoot another man so long as he be on the road, whence it comes about that the observant traveller will notice long deep trenches running from such small villages as are to be seen in the neighbourhood right up to the metalled road, so that safe access may be had to this curious *terra sacra*. Nevertheless, the hook-nosed traders, with their *kafilahs* of shaggy camels, who journey between India and Afghanistan, take nothing for granted in the Khyber Pass. On two days in every week—Tuesdays and Fridays—the strong arm of Great Britain stretches out over the Pass and lifts a warning finger against all would-be law-breakers. Patrols of military police scale the heights above the road, the sharpshooters of the Khyber Rifles, who man the chain of blockhouses from Jamrud to Landi Kotal, maintain a sharp lookout, and escorts drawn from the same force accompany the ascending and descending caravans. On these two days, and on these two days alone, do the *kafilahs* take the road. Here and there on the mountain sides you may notice rows of small cairns of carefully whitewashed stones, five, six, seven, or eight cairns to the row. These give the riflemen in the nearest blockhouse the exact range—500, 600, 700, or 800 yards. Have I not said that one does not take too much for granted in the rugged defiles of the Khyber Pass?

There are not many countries that can boast to-day that

they possess no line of railway. Afghanistan is one of them. Railways are dangerous things for buffer states; that, at least, is the view of the buffer state; which looks, moreover, with grave suspicion upon any railway that even approaches its frontier. Many years ago Russia pushed a line south from her trans-Caspian system. It ran up against the Afghan frontier as against a blind wall, and there it remains to this day. From the south-east Britain pushed her line of railway, driving it through the Khojak range to the desert sands on the Afghan frontier beyond, and there it, too, remains. From the east a line runs to Jamrud. A little short of this place a branch wanders off in a north-westerly direction. This is the beginning of a project much talked of at one time, and known as the *Loi-Shilman Railway*. The idea was that it should follow the Kabul River and debouch on to a small open space on the far side of the no-man's-land which lies between the administrative and the political frontiers. It was pushed by an enterprising and rather insistent soldier, and it was delayed by an autocratic and strong-minded statesman who wanted the signature of the ruler of Afghanistan to a document known as the *Anglo-Russian Convention, 1907*. In the result we got neither the railway nor the signature. Metals were actually laid for some twenty miles—in fact, to within four or five miles of Torkamr, a spot which achieved some temporary notoriety under the title of “*Mile 300*.” I believe that something like £500,000 was spent on the project altogether; but when I last visited the spot, the metals so laboriously laid were about to be taken up again—another sad example of the fate which overtakes all railway enterprise directed towards unwilling buffer states. Some of the opponents of the railway showed a disposition, if I remember rightly, to attribute to the project a frontier rising, which led to an expedition in 1908. It may be well, therefore, to point out that the railway would have passed through a country inhabited by Mullagoris to the north of the Khyber Pass, whereas the

expedition of 1908 was into the Bazaar Valley to the south of the Khyber, and its object the punishment of the Zaka Khels, who had been indulging with increasing frequency in their pet pastime of making filibustering raids.

I have spoken so far of material things. But no one can remain long in India without having his thoughts directed towards things spiritual. A large proportion of the sights which attract the tourist are temples. The tourist has not always the time, perhaps, to ponder upon the significance of this; but even the tourist who takes a pride in his capacity for hustle will soon discover—to his own undoing in all probability—that by nature the Indian is prone to meditation rather than to action. Indeed, when thinking of the Indian temperament, one inevitably calls to mind the beautiful lines in which Matthew Arnold has portrayed the peoples of the devout and contemplative East.

One of the most curious and interesting products of Indian philosophy is surely the wandering ascetic known variously as fakir, sadhu, sunyasi, and yogi. I am aware of the danger of generalizing here as in other things Indian, but the type is so striking, so utterly outside the whole range of one's experience in the West, that one naturally seeks for some explanation—one feels instinctively that it must trace back its origin to some mysterious teaching of the remote past. And so, indeed, it does. Let me give briefly what appears to me to be the main source of the type as a whole. The great Indo-Iranian branch of the human family has always been addicted to profound speculation. Centuries before the commencement of our own era we find the Aryan people of India consumed with a passionate desire to comprehend the meaning of things—of the universe, of human existence, of life and death, of time and space, of right and wrong, of all the phenomena, in fact, arising out of human consciousness. Men engaged in speculation of this kind evolved philosophies, and in very early days they formulated a doctrine which has dominated Hindu thought and life right up to the present

day—namely, the doctrine of *karma*. This word signifies *action*, and the doctrine of *karma* amounts to this—that every human action, good or bad, meets inevitably with just recompense, if not in the individual's present existence, then in a subsequent life. The recompense itself involves the individual in action, which again makes compensatory action inevitable. The doctrine of transmigration or rebirth was, of course, a necessary concomitant of this theory, and when you consider the doctrine as a whole—namely, the doctrine of *karma* and rebirth—you will realize in what a terrible and remorseless net those who held it found themselves enmeshed. For if the doctrine were indeed true, human existence must be eternal. There could be no escape. Man was constrained by inexorable fate to pass through a never-ending succession of birth and rebirth. He was the impotent victim of an inflexible and automatic system. There could be no evolution, only repetition. It was as if a man were lashed to a wheel engaged in performing never-ending revolutions. "As soon as the clock of retribution ran down," in the words of an eminent scholar, "it wound itself up again."

Small wonder that when the full meaning of the doctrine became manifest it struck a chill at the heart of man. Small wonder that men felt, as a recent writer has said, "that they were caught in the teeth of a machine which was unerringly moral, but as rigidly Godless."* Small wonder, too, that they sought desperately for some door of escape. Men's minds concentrated themselves upon this all-absorbing problem—how to win emancipation. Great thinkers arose who declared that they had found the way of release. Buddha was such a one, and his teaching, as we know, is to-day the religion of millions of the human race. Mahavira, the founder of the Jain religion, was another.

Since *karma*, or action, was the cause of all the trouble, the avoidance of action was the most obvious way of escape. But before a way of avoiding action could be discovered, it

* J. N. Farquhar, "The Crown of Hinduism."

was necessary to ascertain what it was that impelled men to action at all. An answer to that question became imperative, and the answer that was found was *desire*. Desire sprang up in the heart of man. He took thought as to how to satisfy his desire, and, having done so, he translated his thought into action. So it was argued. Thus we learn from the sacred books that : "Man verily is desire-formed : as is his desire, so is his thought ; as (his) thought is, so he does action ; as he does action, so he attains." And again : "When all the desires hidden in the heart are loosed, then the mortal becomes immortal, then he here enjoyeth Brahman." So men adopted a life of asceticism. They gave up everything material. In many cases they indulged in fearful self-inflicted torture to mortify the flesh, since the desires of the flesh were a main cause of action. They cast off all their worldly belongings --often even their clothes--and led a life of deep meditation away in the forests and the silent places of the earth.

The conventional image of Buddha which is found in vast numbers in all Buddhist countries is of a man in an attitude of profound meditation ; and it is to the suggestion of aloofness, of unruffled calm, of immense repose, that these images owe their quite extraordinary charm. "The Buddhist sculptor," as Mr. Farquhar has said, "actually succeeded in creating a style which gives expression in stone to a lofty spirituality."

When we recall the fact that the doctrine of *karma* made its appearance many centuries before Christ, and that now some thousands of years later there are still to be found in India numbers of men leading the lives of ascetics in order to escape from its pitiless grip, we get some idea of the depths to which this belief has driven its roots into the mind and very being of the Hindu people. So far as the educated classes are concerned this particular method of escape from the eternal recurrence of existence may now, I think, be said to have spent itself. It has failed to withstand the onslaught of the new spirit which

has been introduced into India from the West. Hence asceticism is doomed. It may linger on for many years to come; but even to-day I should doubt whether there are many men of intellect or character to be found within its ranks. Asceticism has, in fact, deteriorated into mendicancy. The majority of the present-day ascetics are ignorant men; many of them are, I fear, grossly immoral. But regarded academically they are of extraordinary interest as being a living relic of one of the most remarkable philosophies which the world has known.

It is curious how Buddhism has died out in India. All the Buddhist buildings in India proper date back to a distant past; such, for instance, as the temple at Buddh-gaya, which marks the spot where Gautama first found the light; the huge and ruined stupa at Sarnath; the rock sculptures at Mahabalipur in the Madras presidency, better known, perhaps, as the Seven Pagodas; the cave temples of Ellora in Hyderabad; and the stupa visited by Chinese pilgrims in the seventh century situated, as accurately stated by them, a mile and a half from Peshawar. An interesting relic in the shape of a casket of King Kanishka containing bones of Buddha was found here in 1909, and was sent to Burma as being the one province of the Indian Empire in which Buddhism is still the popular religion. Here one may observe it as a flourishing creed, and in the kindly and gentle disposition of the Burmese people one observes the influence which it exercises upon their lives and character. Monasticism is associated with Buddhism wherever it is found, and in Burma, at any rate, I should imagine that the monasteries play a part of considerable value in the life of the people. They undertake a widespread educational work. In Tibet their value is probably not so great. I have come into contact with them and their lama inmates in Ladakh, and I have been a spectator at the annual mystery play at the celebrated monastery at Hemis. I have nothing to say against the lama from my personal experience of him, but I should be disposed to say that he

has been somewhat idealized by Mr. Rudyard Kipling in the pages of his attractive book "Kim."

I have mentioned Mahavīra as one of the teachers who arose when the great movement in search of emancipation set in. He was a contemporary of Gautāma, and the adherents of his teaching are found in India to-day under the name of Jains, of whom there are about a million and a quarter in all. Like the Buddhists, they have evolved a beautiful form of architecture, and on the summit of Mount Abu in Rajputana stand two temples, each affording lovely examples of their art. The influence of the doctrine of *karma* is strongly marked in their religious practices. The taking of life of any kind, for instance, is regarded as action of the most disastrous character. The most elaborate precautions are therefore taken against the unwitting destruction of life. The Jain monk, or holy man, carries a brush to sweep the ground in front of him as he walks, lest he tread upon any insect. I observed, too, that when at worship these men bound cloths over their mouths. This, I learned, was to guard against the possible destruction of microbes in the air by the inhaling of them.

The doctrine of *karma* has occupied so large a share of the limited space which I have been able to devote to my impressions in the domain of philosophy, that I ought perhaps to add before leaving the subject that the Hindu teachers of to-day do not demand the literal interpretation placed by the ascetics upon the command to abstain from action. They quote the Bhāgavad-Gīta, and lay stress upon the spiritual meaning of the teaching as set forth in passages like the following :

"Whose works are all free from the moulding of desire, whose actions are burned up by the fire of wisdom, him the wise have called a sage.

"Having abandoned attachment to the fruit of action, always content, nowhere seeking refuge, he is not doing anything, although doing actions.

"Hoping for naught, his mind and self controlled, having abandoned all greed, performing action by the body alone, he doth not commit sin.

"Of one with attachment dead, harmonious, with his thoughts established in wisdom, his works sacrifices, all action melts away."

Now I turn, in conclusion, to a brief contemplation of India as an appanage of the British crown.* We are so used to thinking of India as a British dependency that the amazing character of our achievement fails to impress itself upon us. Familiarity breeds not contempt but loss of perspective. In the same way we are so accustomed to seeing the heavens spangled with stars that we are ordinarily indifferent to the stupendous mystery to which these millions of planets and suns bear constant witness. If these heavenly bodies were manifested to us but once or twice in a lifetime, how infinitely greater would our wonder and our interest in them be!

Nevertheless, when we cease taking things for granted, and begin to think, we find a good deal in the circumstances of British rule in India to excite astonishment. What we actually exercise control over is, as has already been pointed out, a continent the size of all Europe, excluding only Russia, with a population of 315 million people. Rather less than two-fifths of this area, and rather less than one-fourth of the total population, is administered and governed under British suzerainty by the rulers of the 700 different native states; the remainder is administered directly by us. And the whole of the vast machinery necessary for this stupendous task is directed, controlled, and kept in motion by a body of less than 5,000 English officials of all kinds—civilians, judges, engineers, doctors, educationalists, forest officers, and so on. In the United Provinces a single civilian is responsible for the good government of a country larger than New Zealand, with a population of 47 million souls. In Burma another civilian exercises supreme authority over a country twice

the size of the British Isles. The achievement is all the more remarkable when it is remembered what it is that is done through the agency of the public services. India is a huge going concern run by the State. The State does not merely carry on the work of government and the administration of justice ; it does many other things besides. It constructs and runs railways ; it undertakes huge irrigation works ; it organizes famine relief ; it fights pestilence and plague ; it doctors and it sanitates ; it undertakes the scientific treatment and exploitation of the immense forests scattered over the whole land ; it monopolizes the manufacture of salt ; it runs schools and colleges ; it makes its influence felt, in other words, in every department of the people's life.

We sometimes take a rather foolish pride in our capacity as a nation for "muddling through." A shrewd observer of human nature once said that "good luck was another name for tenacity of purpose." The story of our rule in India bears striking testimony to the truth of that. Mere luck could never have enabled us to do all that we are doing in India to-day. Let those who delight to call us as a nation slipshod, careless, unmethodical, inefficient and lucky, continue to do so if they will ; let us also observe a fitting humility. But do not let us fall into the error of making a habit of undue self-depreciation. The perpetual lamentations of the pessimists are not helpful ; they merely foster a loss of self-esteem and alienate the respect of others.

The last Indian census was taken on March 10, 1911. On March 20—ten days later—not only were the results issued in print, but explanatory notes and details of the variations since 1901, not only for provinces, but also for individual districts and the principal towns, were published. Such celerity has never been approached by even the smallest European states, and becomes all the more remarkable when we remember first of all the size of the population enumerated—viz., 315 millions—and secondly that of these 315 millions very nearly 295 millions are

illiterate. Performances of this kind are scarcely suggestive of either inefficiency or muddle.

I have spoken only of what we ourselves have done in India. It must not be supposed that I am indifferent to all that the Indians themselves have done and are doing. Without their loyal co-operation our task would obviously be an impossible one. It was sea-power that enabled us to lay the foundations of sovereignty in India, but much else has gone to the building of the splendid superstructure which we see to-day. Justice, fair dealing, tolerance, single-mindedness, and sympathy—these are the corner-stones upon which the edifice rests. And now there is being added yet one more—blood freely shed and treasure spent in the prosecution of a common cause. “West and East, England and India,” writes Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, “are marching onwards in comradeship, united in bonds forged on the field of battle and tempered in their common blood.”

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, February 15, 1915, a lantern lecture was delivered by the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P., entitled "Impresions of India." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., D.D., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Samuel Swinton Jacob, K.C.S.I., C.V.O., and Lady Jacob, Sir John Stanley, K.C.I.E., and Lady Stanley, Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Patrick Playfair, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. L. M. Wynch, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Creagh-Osborne, Mrs. Clarke Kennedy, Mrs. Sassoon, Mrs. Archibald Little, Mrs. and Miss Oliver, Miss Webster, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. J. Reid, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. James Cotton, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, Mrs. Campbell, Mrs. Hodson Woodcock, Mr. Mallan, Mr. Gulati, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. A. Harvey, Mrs. G. B. Reynolds, Professor Bickerton and Miss Bickerton, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Mr. A. B. Patel, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. Haigh, Miss Beck, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. Syud Hossain, Miss M. Pollen, Mr. Charles Hurst, Miss Schmidt, Mr. M. H. Kedwai, Mr. A. W. Grant, Mr. G. Mansukhani, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mrs. and Miss Corfield, Miss Lethbridge, Mr. Hassanally, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Jones, Mrs. Coleman Young, Miss Macarthey, Miss Hicks, Mrs. Drury, Mr. C. M. Kenworthy, Mrs. Walsh, Mrs. Nash, Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Abbott, Colonel F. S. Terry, Miss Terry, Mr. M. A. Azim, Mr. and Mrs. James Macdonald, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Irvine, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. and Miss Dunsdon, Mr. J. E. Husbands, I.C.S., Mrs. Summerville, Miss E. G. Henry, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Mr. and Mrs. Black, Mr. Charles Rosher, Mrs. Sander Tacien, Mrs. E. Gordon Farquharson, Mr. G. F. Sheppard, Mr. and Mrs. McLachlin, Miss Mackay, Miss Irene Laing, Mrs. Furnell, Mrs. Topham, Mrs. Fisher, Mr. H. M. Gibbs, Miss Gordon, Mr. Pandit Shyama Shankar, Mr. E. Bullied,

Mrs. Doughty, Mr. Leigh Jones, Mrs. Ernest V. F. Kinnear-Tarté, Mrs. Bromhead, Miss Stewart and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think there is any need to introduce Lord Ronaldshay to you, and I shall therefore call upon him at once to deliver his lecture.

The lecture was then read, and was received with loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all in agreement that we have spent a most interesting and pleasant afternoon (Hear, hear), and many of us have been pleased to see scenes familiar to us. Lord Ronaldshay has said quite rightly that India is the last country about which one can generalize, but at the same time there are certain generalities which, especially at this moment, are quite clear, and one of these is the demonstration of loyalty throughout the length and breadth of India to the British Raj. (Hear, hear.) I could not help thinking, when we saw those photographs of the Taj Mahal, and of all those splendid monuments of ancient times, how fortunate it is that these emblems of an ancient culture are out of the reach of the representatives of a more modern culture (Hear, hear, and laughter), who, I am afraid, would not show that respect and all that veneration which they inspire in us.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, allusion has been made to the great electrical works in Bombay, and I am very glad that the lecturer has thus given me an opportunity of saying how delighted I was to hear of the inauguration of this marvellous undertaking quite recently. That inauguration really marks a stage in the industrial progress of India, and it must always be associated with the name of Mr. Tata. Of all the men whom it was my good fortune in India to come across, with regard to the industrial side of the development of India, no one left on me an impression of greater vigour than Mr. Tata. He was an exceptional man in many ways, perfectly modest and simple, and having what Lord Ronaldshay points out as the characteristic of good luck—an extraordinary tenacity of purpose. I am very glad that his sons are following in his footsteps, and continuing the good work he has initiated. The more numerous such men are, the greater will be the prosperity of India in the future.

Now, with regard to the various causes of the success of our rule in India—and I agree with Lord Ronaldshay that the more one looks at it the more wonderful it is—Lord Cromer, in his recent volume on the ex-Khedive, commends to all administrators in the East the importance of good finance. I do not mean to say that it does not also apply to the West, but he points out that, with regard to Egypt, the allegiance to our rule is mainly due to the fact that the Egyptians understand that, if they are to have prosperity with light taxation, they must look to the English Protectorate in order to have it. And one of the great benefits we have conferred on India is that we have been very careful with regard to her finance. While I was in Bombay I was able to abolish the octroi duty, and it is a very bad duty. It is, as you know, established at the entrance of the towns, and its incidence on all classes of the population is harassing, especially to the poorest class. Now, Lord Cromer says that he noticed with some concern a report that the octroi duty is to be re-established at Alexandria. He calls it a thoroughly

bad tax, and trusts that octroi duties will not again be incorporated into the permanent fiscal system of the country.

I think, ladies and gentlemen, that we ought on this occasion to pay a tribute of sincere respect to the Indian troops for the way in which they have distinguished themselves in the battlefield. We cannot think of India without thinking of their valour and of their loyalty, and of the very humane way in which they have observed the rules of civilized warfare. (Hear, hear.)

I have now only to ask you to allow me to move a very cordial vote of thanks to Lord Ronaldshay. His remarks on the philosophy of India show that he has tried to understand the undercurrents of Indian social customs and the essential traits of the character of the people. (Hear, hear.) I entirely agree with what he has said, that the key to success of our rule in India, and many of the results that we have achieved, are due to the fact that it has been our aim to show (and in future after this war it will be natural to show) that we are in full sympathy with the wishes of the people of India, so that they shall achieve their own happiness, and their own progress, in their own way. I now beg to move a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Ronaldshay. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

MR. COLDSTREAM: Ladies and gentlemen, I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks which has been so eloquently moved by our Chairman to the noble Lecturer, for the very interesting, clear and compendious *coup d'œil* of the great and interest-compelling country of India, so happily linked with the British Empire. Lord Ronaldshay we know as a great traveller, but his lecture has also shown him to be a close observer. His lordship could have conducted us into some very much less known tracts than those he has shown us on the screen to-day, such as the high tracts of the Himalayas and the inaccessible regions in which he has made his name as a traveller. It is wonderful how his lordship has given us so much useful information about India, in such a clear form and so beautifully illustrated, in the short time in which he has commanded our attention. Our very hearty thanks are due to him for his most interesting lecture. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I have also been asked to express our warmest thanks to our noble Chairman. No one could more worthily preside at a lecture on India, in which Empire Lord Reay, in the midst of strenuous work in high political, academic and philanthropic fields, continues to take the deepest and most active interest. We cordially welcome to our chair one who so effectively, and in a manner which sets us all such a high example, works for the highest interests of India and the Empire.

The motion, on being put to the meeting, was carried with acclamation.

The LECTURER: Might I express my appreciation of the very kind way in which you have proposed and seconded this vote of thanks to myself? I hope I have not been too dogmatic in the course of my paper, which is, perhaps, rather a failing of Members of Parliament. I must confess to one fault on my part: I am obstinate. Dr. Pollen told me I had better

show my slides at the end of the paper, but I said I preferred to show half of them in the middle of the paper, and the rest at the end. I now find he was correct, and I am afraid that owing to the light the slides did not show as well as they would have done if they had been seen in a properly darkened room. I thank you most sincerely for your kind welcome.

The CHAIRMAN: It has given me the greatest pleasure to preside on this very interesting occasion, and I thank you all for the very kind way in which you have accorded the vote of thanks.

The meeting then terminated.

INDIA AFTER THE WAR, FROM THE ECONOMIC STANDPOINT

BY SIR DANIEL M. HAMILTON

SPEAKING in the House of Commons on November 26th last, Mr. Roberts, Under-Secretary for India, made the following remark :

“It was premature to attempt to anticipate the consequences that might follow from the striking and historic event—the participation of India in force in the world war of the Empire. The results would not be fully seen until the war was over. But it was clear that India claimed to be not a mere dependent of, but a partner in, the Empire, and her partnership with us in spirit and on the battlefields could not but alter the angle from which we should all henceforward look at the problems of the Government of India.”

Now, I do not know what may be in the mind of Mr. Roberts, but what I am going to suggest this afternoon for your consideration is, whether, after the war is over, the Government of India might be given economic independence—freedom from the control of the Secretary of State in financial and economic affairs, with a view to the training of India for political independence, ultimately, within the Empire. I place economic freedom first, because economics are solid food, wheat and rice, whereas politics are chiefly chaff. I hope, then, that when Mr. Roberts views India from a different angle, ^{not been too dogmatic in} ^{Members} war, he will fix one eye,

and that the better of the two, on the economic side of Indian life, for upon the strength of the economic base depends the strength of the political structure. And I may say that one of the objects which I have had in view in penning this paper is, to enlist the interest of the young men of India who are resident in London in economic questions affecting India, in the hope that they will follow the lead of that master of Indian economics, Mr. Gokhale, and the young men in Bombay who form The Friends of India Society.

What is it, then, that Mr. Gokhale's young men are doing? They are helping to rebuild India, by creating what are among the greatest of India's needs--viz., **UNITY and A BANKING SYSTEM FOR THE PEOPLE**; and to destroy what are among the greatest stumbling-blocks in the path of India's progress--viz., the **SEPARATENESS OF THE PEOPLE and THE POWER OF THE MAHAJAN**. And how are they doing it? By training the people among whom they are working--viz., the mill-hands and the depressed classes of Bombay, in co-operative methods and co-operative finance. So good has been their work that the interest on the small loans required by the people has been reduced from 75 and 150 per cent. to $18\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Now, these poor people in Bombay are more or less typical of the great bulk of the people of India. Financial bondage means spiritual bondage, and spiritual bondage is incompatible with political freedom. Financial freedom must therefore, of necessity, precede political freedom, and for this reason I would suggest that if any changes in the existing relations between the Secretary of State and the Government of India are in contemplation, precedence be given to economics.

Now, while the blessings of British rule have been many and great, and will, I doubt not, be greater still in the future, the improvement in the economic condition of the people has not been as great as one might have expected after 150 years of British rule. The explanation of this is that the beneficent rule of the Government is destroyed,

largely, by the power of the Mahajan, and when I speak of the Mahajan, I should like you to understand it is not so much the individual I refer to as the system he represents. India is in the Mahajan's grip. That grip is on the throat of the people, and until it is relaxed India will not breathe the breadth of life and freedom.

How do I gauge the prosperity of the people, and how do I know that their economic progress is not what it might have been? I do so by an infallible economic test—that of the rate of interest payable by the people when they want to borrow, as they always do. The other evening I was reading Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." There I found this written:

"In Bengal money is frequently lent to farmers at 40, 50, and 60 per cent., and the succeeding crop is mortgaged for the payment. As the profits which can afford such an interest must eat up almost the whole rent of the landlord, so such enormous usury must in its turn eat up the greater part of the profits."

That was written 138 years ago, and that is the condition of things in Bengal to-day. I speak from personal knowledge, for that was the rate of interest payable by the people on my property in Bengal until lately, when I turned the Mahajan out of my place in the Sunderbans. The same rate holds good on the other side of India, and there, too, I speak from personal knowledge. The rate of interest is a sure index of the solvency of a people, and the rates prevalent over the greater part of India to-day are clear proof that the economic condition of the people is not what it might be, and the man mainly responsible is that irresponsible ruler of India, the Mahajan.

How, then, is the power of the Mahajan to be broken? There is only one proved way of doing it, and that is by introducing into the life of India a still stronger power—viz., the spirit of unity.

Well, a beginning, and an excellent beginning, has been made by Government in the creation of that spirit of unity

without which freedom of any kind is an idle dream. With the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904, the spirit began to move on the face of the waters, and the blighting shadow of the Mahajan began to lift. I will show you the working of the spirit by reading to you an extract from last year's report of the working of the Co-operative Credit Societies in the United Provinces. This is what the Registrar says :

“The example of Western countries shows that co-operation is bound sooner or later to raise the moral character not only of the members but of their neighbours. Cases are now numerous in our societies where in a village whole castes as well as individuals have given up drinking, gambling, and other vices that rendered them ineligible for election. The society at Shahpur, in Benares, which has been favourably noticed in successive annual reports, is composed mostly of Bhars, a tribe locally noted for its criminal propensities. Other villages reputed for the bad livelihood of the residents are making strenuous efforts for the establishment of societies. In many localities elementary schools are maintained by a grant from the profits of the society or by a special levy amongst the members. Sanitation and medical relief have also been taken up in some cases. Many panchayets stock a supply of quinine for the use of the members and their families. Petty disputes amongst members, of a civil or criminal nature are now usually referred to the panchayet. Extravagant expenditure at marriages, funerals, or festivities has been much curtailed. Many villagers have told me that formerly they spent more than they could afford on such occasions to avoid local odium. Now they can safely say that they are not permitted by the panch to indulge in ruinous hospitality. The policy followed of discouraging caste or sectional societies in villages has borne very good fruit. In the panchayet all castes and interests are represented, and hostility between caste and caste is disappearing. As a local inspector has reported, a Brahman sarpanch has no longer the slightest hesitation in catching hold of the hand of a Chamar member and securing his thumb impression on the promissory note executed by the latter for a loan.

“What has been said above will show how a solidarity of feeling is developing amongst members. They are also learning to help each other in times of distress and calamity.

Numerous instances are quoted in district reports where the goods and chattels of a man who has suddenly died of plague or other disease have been guarded by his fellow-members. Necessary help is given to the widow or minor children of members. Recusant or indifferent panches and members are expelled or otherwise suitably dealt with. Many societies have built chaupals for the holding of meetings. Songs and Bhajans are sung in praise of co-operation. Plays have been staged in the western districts depicting the respective ways of the Mahajan and the society, and pointing the moral. Through the organization of our societies in groups and central banking unions, neighbouring villages are learning to co-operate with each other. This is likely to be of much service in promoting rural economy. The signs are all favourable for the revival of a corporate village life in the province. India is a country of villages, and will remain so for many centuries. The importance of the growth of a rural culture and civilization cannot, therefore, be over-estimated."

I want you specially to notice how many of the problems which have baffled Government from the beginning are being solved by the spirit of unity working among the people, and without any expense to Government excepting the salaries of the co-operative staff. These are some of them: the famine problem, the financing of the people, the drink problem, primary education, medicine, sanitation, police, litigation; and to these I would add that other pressing problem, Well Irrigation, while the song and the Bhajan have drowned the discord of the Mahajan.

Those are the fruits of the Spirit of Unity, and the opposite are the fruits of the Mahajan's garden—viz., famine suffering of men and cattle, insolvency, illiteracy, ill-health, insanitation, drunkenness, gambling, extravagance, want of irrigation, and want of growth, spiritual, moral, political, and material.

I have said that an excellent beginning has been made in the development of the co-operative spirit, but it is still only a beginning. The cry of India is the cry of the trenches—"Men, more men." All over India the Mahajan is still strongly entrenched behind his silver heaps, and he

must be dug out. Of the 750,000 villages of India which are calling for help, only 12,000 have yet been entered. Why? Because Government is waiting for honorary workers who do not come. But India cannot wait; she has waited far too long already. Russia has organized co-operative credit for 40,000,000 of her people, including their families, mainly within the last five years. India, with only 4,000,000, lags far behind. The Russian co-operative credit societies have at their command £63,000,000 of capital; the Indian about £4,000,000. When will India catch up? As regards honorary workers, hear what Sir Horace Plunkett, the Irish co-operative leader, wrote the other day :

“The pioneers could do all that was required in its early stages. We were then dealing more with principles than with practical details. We had to get public opinion to support the co-operative principle in agriculture. Now the main work is the application of the principle to the actual business of the people, and only trained professional organizers can do this.”

By all means let us have all the honorary workers we can get for this great work, and all honour to those who come forward; but honorary workers will never organize the finances of 315,000,000 people. A work of this magnitude can only be done by Government. While squaring its own accounts, Government ought also to show the people how to square theirs. While Government borrows at 4 per cent. for itself, it ought not to leave the people who are dependent upon it to pay 40 per cent. as they did in the days of Adam Smith. Finance Ministers come and go, but the 40 per cent. remains, and until the gulf between the 40 per cent. and the 4 per cent. is bridged by a banking system, the people cannot pass from poverty to plenty, but will remain what they now are—the dependents of Government whenever the rains fail. On the battlefields of Europe India has shown her loyalty to the Empire; but India, too, has her battlefields, and the Empire can best show its loyalty

to India by helping her on that financial field on which so many of her sons still struggle and fall. The help that India wants will cost the Empire nothing. India will pay her own way. All she asks for is a banking system for the people, and an increased co-operative staff—an enlarged Servants of India Society composed of picked men with a talent for finance—men who will work with a single eye for the advancement of their country, and who will not enter the service only for the sake of an appointment. If you allot 100 villages to each of these young men, 7,000 will ultimately be wanted—7,000 preachers of unity and co-operation, 7,000 Indian Empire builders. An increase of 1,000 yearly will take seven years to complete the staff; therefore the sooner the increase begins, the better for India.

What salary ought these young men to have? One in keeping with the quality and training of the men. If we assume an average of £200 a year, this would mean £200,000 to begin with, and £1,400,000 ultimately. Where is the money to come from? Great Britain is spending a million and a half *a day* for destructive purposes—for destroying the enemy of the race—Prussian militarism. Can India not afford a million and a half *a year* for constructive purposes, for destroying the enemy of India—the Mahajan? The rural debt of India is estimated at £250,000,000 sterling. A saving of even 10 per cent. on this would be £25,000,000 a year. Would this not be a good return on the investment? The cost would later be passed on to the villages, and the villages would gladly pay, for it would be only Rs. 2.8 a month. To begin with, however, Government would have to find the money, and I shall now show you where the money for this and a great deal more is to be found without additional cost to the Government or the people.

The money to pay the salaries of the enlarged co-operative credit department, and for a good deal more besides, is to be had from the profit, coined and uncoined, on the cur-

rency. Twenty-five million pounds sterling have already accumulated and are lying in the Bank of England and in the vaults of the Government of India. Up till now it has been considered necessary to keep this large stock of gold handy in order to pay off an adverse trade balance which occurs once in ten or fifteen years in times of stress like the present, or in famine when India cannot pay her debt in produce. The war has, however, taught us the value of good paper money, and that the credit of the State is more powerful than gold or silver. Therefore, instead of keeping this large stock of gold lying more or less idle for the purpose mentioned, India may pay her very occasional trade debt with gold Treasury bills at sixteenpence per rupee plus interest, the bills being redeemed in gold after the trade balance turns in India's favour, as it always does when the bad time is over. India's occasional adverse balance ought to be treated simply as a temporary overdraft to a valuable client who can be trusted to pay it off in gold very shortly. At the present moment the British Government has £100,000,000 of Treasury bills afloat, and how many millions the other nations have I do not know; but I know that India's Treasury bills would be better than all others in this respect—that they would be paid off in gold within a very short time, whereas it is doubtful if those of other nations will ever be paid off at all. More than likely they will become part of their permanent debt.

I may add that the proposal to settle an Indian adverse trade balance by means of Treasury bills is on the same lines as the arrangement made the other day in Paris by the Allies' financial experts, for the settlement of Russia's present adverse trade balance. Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech in Parliament on the 15th ult., explained the proposal in these words:

“We have also initiated arrangements which we hope will help to restore the exchanges in respect of bills held in this country against Russian merchants, who, owing to the present difficulties of exchange, cannot discharge their

liabilities in this country. They are quite ready and eager to pay, they have the money to pay, but owing to difficulties of exchange they cannot pay bills owing in this country. We therefore propose to accept Russian Treasury bills against these bills of exchange due from Russian merchants, Russia collecting the debts in roubles in her own country and giving us the Treasury bills in exchange. We hope that will assist very materially in the working of the exchanges. It will be very helpful to business between the two countries, and incidentally it will be very helpful to Russia herself in raising money in her own country for the purpose of financing the war."

In the same way the Government of India would collect rupees in India and give sterling Treasury bills in exchange on the basis of sixteenpence per rupee plus interest.

To hold up £25,000,000 sterling for all time as security against a deficit of only one-third of that sum, which may or may not occur once in ten or fifteen years, is not good business. The wholesale locking-up of the money received for India's produce, against a fall in exchange which need never occur, besides being unfair to India, is financially unsound and economically wasteful, and ought now to give way to more modern finance.

In utilizing the gold reserves, however, I do not propose to waste the money by issuing it in the form of gold currency in India. What I propose to do is to leave the gold where it is, and to issue paper money against it, and to use the paper money in paying the salaries of the increased co-operative staff—that is to say, in the development of credit and of a banking system for the people, also in the construction of irrigation canals, and in the provision of wells through the media of the co-operative societies, and to spend the money in such other ways as will best promote the advancement of India.

The difference between India's paper money and the paper money of other nations which is now being used for war purposes would be the difference between life and death. By increasing the food-supply, India's paper currency would create life, which Ruskin rightly says is

the only wealth ; whereas war paper currency destroys both life and property. India's paper currency would be *constructive*, while that which is issued in payment of war debts is *destructive*.

There is another suggestion connected with the exchange question which I should like to make—viz., that in return for the money belonging to the Gold Standard Reserve which India lends to the British Government, the British Government should now guarantee the exchangeability of the rupee at sixteenpence. As the rupee has proved its invulnerability, the guarantee would be only a nominal thing, but it would have the effect of inspiring confidence in timid investors who might be disposed to send capital to India, but who are doubtful about getting it back at sixteenpence per rupee. From the annexed statement, which shows the money lent last year to our Colonies and Dependencies and foreign countries by the London money market, it is evident that India is not getting her fair share of capital. For the seven months January to July, 1914, Canada borrowed £35,000,000 from the outside world, most of it from London. India, I suppose, borrowed about £3,000,000 in the same time. Canada borrowed £4 per head of her population ; India 2½d. If Canada is going ahead too fast, it is fairly evident that India is going too slow. The guarantee I have suggested would be a graceful compliment to India, and India might return the compliment by guaranteeing the British Exchequer against loss, for there neither could nor would be any.

And what has the war to teach India regarding banking ? She stands on the threshold of a new era. While she looks ahead she must also look back and learn the lessons of the past, and the greatest of the lessons is that she must not build a banking system on a foundation of sand, not even on golden sand, but on the solid rock of the State, for the many are stronger than the few.

The English system of banking, resting as it does on a few shareholders and a phantom base of gold, will not do

for India. It is out of date, and the gold can never be found in a time of stress when it is most wanted. When war broke out, all the bankers of England went off for a long holiday because they could not pay their debts in the legal tender coin of the realm. When we looked for gold, we were given postal orders, and from the golden dream of the millennium we awakened to the moratorium. The strength of a capitalist bank is the strength of a few of the people. The strength of a State Bank is the strength of the nation.

What was it saved the Empire when the English banking system broke down? It was the introduction of State banking and the £1 note bearing the impress of the King's head. No other power was equal to the task. India wants a bank with the King-Emperor as head, and after the experience of the last two years, she will trust no other with her money. The way is now open to India to have the greatest bank in the world, and she must not miss the chance. It can be worked by the machinery of the existing Presidency banks, linking up the people with these by means of the co-operative unions which are now coming into being. India wants expansion, and must have an expansive banking system—one which will not be limited to the funds at the disposal of a limited body of limited shareholders, nor rest on a phantom base of gold, but on the solid rock of the State, and which will reach out a helping hand to the meanest of her subjects.

The old Scottish banking system, applied by the State, is what India wants. It sets men to work for themselves and for the State without waiting for gold or silver. It develops production as well as trade. It embodies the co-operative principle; men borrow on the security of their friends. The following extract from Macleod's "Elements of Banking" will explain its working:

"We have now to describe a species of credit invented in Scotland, to which the marvellous progress and prosperity of that country is mainly due.

"The Bank of Scotland began to issue £1 notes about the beginning of the last century. In 1727 another bank was founded named the Royal Bank. In the very contracted sphere of Scottish commerce at that time, there were not sufficient commercial bills to exhaust the credit of the banks. They had, as it were, a superfluity of credit on hand, and the Royal Bank devised a new means of getting it into circulation.

"It agreed, on receiving sufficient guarantees, to open or create credits in favour of respectable and trustworthy persons.

"A cash credit is therefore simply a drawing account, created in favour of a customer, upon which he may operate in precisely the same manner, as on a common drawing account. The only difference being that, instead of receiving interest upon the daily balance to his credit, as is very commonly the custom in Scotland, he pays interest on the daily balance at his debit. It is thus an inverse drawing account.

"All these advances are made exclusively in the Bank's own notes, and they are not made on the basis of any previous transaction.

"Cash credits are applicable to a totally different class of transactions from those which give rise to bills of exchange, and we will now explain their nature more fully.

"Every man in business, however humble or however extensive, must necessarily keep a certain portion of ready money by him, to answer immediate demands for small daily expenses, wages, and other things. This would, of course, be much more profitably employed in his business, where it might produce a profit of 15 or 20 per cent. instead of lying idle. But unless the trader knew that he could command it at a moment's notice, he would always be obliged to keep a certain portion of ready money in his own till, or he must be able to command the use of someone else's till. Now, one object of a cash credit is to supply this convenience to the trader, to enable him to invest the whole of his capital in trade, and, upon proper security being given, to furnish him with the accommodation of a till at a moment's notice, in such small sums as he may require, on his paying a moderate interest for the accommodation.

"Almost every young man commencing business in Scotland does it by means of a cash credit. A young solicitor, for instance, in England must have a very considerable amount of ready money to begin business with any ease to

himself, as he is expected to make disbursements before he can get in payments from his clients. But in Scotland this is done by means of a cash credit which is guaranteed by his friends.

"These credits are granted to all classes of society, to the poor as freely as to the rich. Everything depends upon character. Young men in the humblest walks of life inspire their friends with confidence in their steadiness and judgment, and they become sureties for them on a cash credit. This is exactly the same thing as money to them, and they then have the means placed within their reach of rising to any extent to which their abilities and industry permit them.

"It was in this manner that the prodigious progress in agriculture was made in Scotland. There were immense quantities of reclaimable land, and abundance of unemployed people, but no capital or money to set their industry in motion. Seeing this state of matters the banks opened branches in numerous parts of the country, and sent down boxes of £1 notes and granted cash credits to the farmers. These notes were universally received as readily as coin. The farmers made their purchases and paid wages with them, and immense tracts of barren land were changed into fertile corn-fields. Now these £1 notes were not a substitute for any specie; they did not supersede or displace any previously existing money; they were a pure *addition* to the existing money; they were, in fact, exactly equivalent to the creation of so much gold.

"Commerce and agriculture therefore received their prodigious stimulus from these cash credits. But they were of equal use in a public point of view. Almost all the great public works of every description were created by means of these cash credits. One witness stated that the Forth and Clyde Canal was executed by means of a cash credit of £40,000 granted by the Royal Bank. And in exactly a similar way, whenever any other great public works are to be done, such as roads, bridges, canals, railways, docks, etc., the invariable course is to obtain a large cash credit at one of the banks.

"All these marvellous results, which have raised Scotland from the lowest state of barbarism up to her present proud position in the space of 150 years, are the children of pure CREDIT. It is no exaggeration whatever, but a melancholy truth, that at the period of the Revolution of 1688 and the establishment of the Bank of Scotland, that country, partly owing to such a series of disasters as cannot

be paralleled in the history of any other independent nation, and partly owing to its position in the very outskirts of the civilized world, and far removed from the humanizing influence of commerce, divided, in fact, into two nations, aliens in blood and language, was the most utterly barbarous, savage, and lawless kingdom in Europe. And it is equally undeniable that the two great causes of her rapid rise in civilization and wealth have been her systems of national education and banking. Her system of banking has been of infinitely greater service to her than mines of gold and silver. Mines of the precious metals would probably have demoralized her people. But her banking system has tended immensely to call forth every manly virtue. In the character of her own people, in their steadiness, their integrity, their honour, Scotland has found wealth infinitely more beneficial to her than the mines of Mexico and Peru.

"Now, we observe that these cash credits which have produced such marvellous results are purely of the nature of accommodation paper in England. They are not based upon any previous operations, nor upon the transfer of commodities already in existence. They are created for the express purpose of creating or forming future products, which would either have had no existence at all but for them, or, at all events, it would have been deferred for a very long period, until solid money could have been obtained to produce them. Thus we have an enormous mass of exchangeable property, created by the mere will of the bank and its customers, which produces all the effects of solid gold and silver; and when it had done its work, it vanishes again into nothing, at the will of the same persons who called it into existence.

"Hence we see that the mere will of man has created vast masses of wealth out of nothing, and then DECREATED them into nothing, which, having served their purpose after a time, were

"Melted into air, into thin air."

"But their solid results have by no means faded like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaving not a rack behind. On the contrary, their solid results have been her far-famed agriculture; the manufactures of Glasgow and Paisley; the unrivalled steamships of the Clyde; great public works of all sorts—canals, railroads, roads, bridges; and poor young men converted into princely merchants."

The old Scotch bankers were men of vision. They saw canals where none existed, and they manufactured the £1 notes to construct them. They had no gold and very little credit. The Government of India has both in abundance. Is it weaker than a few old Scotch bankers? May it not, like them, manufacture its own money to construct canals and wells? Let me apply the system to a couple of concrete cases.

A few months ago Mr. Summers, an Indian State engineer, read a paper here recommending the construction of the Rohri Canal in Sind at a cost of £3,000,000. Let us assume that the Bank of Bengal is the State Bank: Government will do as you and I do when we want an overdraft from our bankers. It will lodge with the bank as security for the loan its own railway or canal bonds to the value of the loan which it requires. The bank will thereupon provide Government with a cheque-book containing, say, ten rupee notes, and with these the canal is constructed and paid for. Government will pay interest on the loan, but as the State will be the chief proprietor of the bank, the interest will go to Government. The net result is that the Government gets the money free of interest. If Government borrowed in the open market at 4 per cent., in twenty-five years it would pay away the cost of another canal, so that by utilizing its own money it gets two canals for the price of one. Besides having gold behind it, the paper is additionally secured by the canal which it constructs. The ten-rupee note which is paid to the coolie is simply an order on the State for ten rupees worth of food and clothing in return for ten rupees worth of canal constructed by him for the State. While idle he is living off the State, and giving nothing in return for his food. The scrap of paper sets him to work—sets industry in motion, as Adam Smith calls it—and instead of eating the hard crust of idleness, he eats the bread of industry by constructing canals for the State, of which he is a member.

Eleven years ago the Irrigation Commission laid down

a programme to cost £30,000,000 sterling, but only £11,000,000 have so far been spent. With so many of our wounded soldiers returning to India, wanting a bit of land on which to fight their battles over again, and so many others crying for land, would it not be well to push on with the remainder of the programme? It might have been completed ere now if Government had taken the full power out of its gold. Since 1901 Government has paid out of its treasuries 60,000,000 sovereigns, which have been "absorbed" by the country. Each sovereign melts into twenty-four silver rupees, but circulates only as fifteen, and the power of nine rupees is lost. The loss on the 60,000,000 sovereigns is fully £20,000,000, just the sum required to complete the programme; but the chance has gone, and with it has gone £20,000,000 of canals. Such is the wastage caused by gold currency.

The other concrete case to which I would refer is connected with well irrigation. Two months ago Mr. Malony, of the Indian Civil Service, drew our attention to the very great importance of pushing on with well construction. In British India there is something like 250,000,000 acres of land under cultivation, and another 100,000,000 of cultivable waste land, but only about 30,000,000 acres receive the benefit of irrigation. If we assume that 100,000,000 acres are still in want of, or would be benefitted by, irrigation, allowing a well to every ten acres, 10,000,000 wells are wanted; and if we assume Rs. 300, or £20, as the cost of a well, £200,000,000 sterling are wanted for well irrigation alone. Where is the money to come from? It must come chiefly from India herself, and here is a great opening for some of India's paper money. India is thirsting for water, and, as Mr. Malony told us, the water is to be had underneath for the lifting. There is unemployed labour to be found in every village, why not turn it on to well-sinking? What I would suggest is that the Government push on as fast as possible with the development of the co-operative village societies, and entrust the societies, which are all

under the supervision of Government, with the working of its Takavi loans, ensuring that for every ten rupees borrowed from the State Bank a foot of well was sunk. The notes would thus create their own security in addition to that in the gold reserve. The village society would gladly pay $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for the loan, which would be an excellent investment for the State and a still better one for the people.

Now, I should like you to follow one of those ten rupee notes, and see what happens. To begin with, the country is richer by a well and additional crops. The coolie who has got the ten rupees spends it in food and clothing, and in so doing creates a stronger demand for these. The extra demand for food causes more food to be grown. With the extra money which he receives from the coolie for food, the ryot buys a new sari for his wife, so more looms are set in motion. The weaver, with the additional money he gets from the coolie and the ryot, buys something for *his* wife and family, and so on the money spins, smiling all round as it goes. The proposed paper currency being balanced by increased production could not cause redundancy. The only redundancy it might cause would be a redundancy of food and clothing, and the people will not complain of this.

I now come to another important development, which is encouraged by an increased issue of paper money, and that is Deposit Banking. You are all aware of the hoards of idle money which are hidden away in India. In these hoards is wrapped up the surplus labour of generations. How is this great force to be captured, and hitched on to the car of State? The most likely way to do it, says Walter Bagehot, is by the diffusion of paper money, and to explain how this comes about I shall here give you an extract from Bagehot's "*Lombard Street*," that classic of the financial world :

"The real introductory function which deposit banks at first perform is much more popular, and it is only when

they can perform this more popular kind of business that deposit banking ever spreads quickly and extensively. This function is the supply of the paper circulation to the country, and it will be observed that I am not about to overstep my limits and discuss this as a question of currency. In what form the best paper currency can be supplied to the country is a question of economical theory, with which I do not meddle here. I am only narrating unquestionable history; not dealing with an argument where every step is disputed. And part of this certain history is that the best way to diffuse banking in a community is to allow the banker to issue bank-notes of small amount that can supersede the metal currency. This amounts to a subsidy to each banker to enable him to keep open a bank until depositors choose to come to it. The country where deposit banking is most diffused is Scotland, and there the original profits were entirely derived from the circulation. The note issue is now a most trifling part of the liabilities of the Scotch banks, but it was once their mainstay and source of profit. A curious book, lately published, has enabled us to follow the course of this in detail. The Bank of Dundee, now amalgamated with the Royal Bank of Scotland, was founded in 1763, and had become before its amalgamation, eight or nine years since, a bank of considerable deposits. But for twenty-five years from its foundation, it had no deposits at all. It subsisted mostly on its note issue, and a little on its remittance business. Only in 1792, after nearly thirty years, it began to gain deposits, but from that time they augmented very rapidly. The banking history of England has been the same, though we have no country bank accounts in detail which go back so far.

"The reason why the use of bank paper commonly precedes the habit of making deposits in banks is very plain. It is a far easier habit to establish. In the issue of notes the banker, the person to be most benefited, can do something. He can pay away his own 'promises' in loans, in wages, or in payment of debts. But in the getting of deposits he is passive. His issues depend on himself; his deposits on the favour of others. And to the public the change is far easier, too. To collect a great mass of deposits with the same banker, a great number of persons must agree to do something; but to establish a note circulation, a large number of persons need only do nothing. They receive the banker's notes in the common course of their business, and they have only *not* to take those

notes to the banker for payment. If the public refrain from taking trouble, a paper circulation is immediately in existence. A paper circulation is begun by the banker, and requires no effort on the part of the public; on the contrary, it needs an effort of the public to be rid of notes once issued. But deposit banking cannot be begun by the banker, and requires a spontaneous and consistent effort in the community, and therefore paper issue is the natural prelude to deposit banking.

"The way in which the issue of notes by a banker prepares the way for the deposit of money with him is very plain. When a private person begins to possess a great heap of banknotes, it will soon strike him that he is trusting the banker very much, and that in return he is getting nothing. He runs the risk of loss and robbery just as if he were hoarding coin. He would run no more risk by the failure of the bank if he made a deposit there, and he would be free from the risk of keeping the cash. No doubt it takes time before even this simple reasoning is understood by uneducated minds. So strong is the wish of most people to see their money that they for some time continue to hoard banknotes; for a long period a few do so. But in the end common sense conquers. The circulation of bank-notes decreases, and the deposit of money with the banker increases. The credit of the banker having been efficiently advertised by the note, and accepted by the public, he lives on the credit so gained years after the note issue itself has ceased to be very important to him.

"The efficiency of this introduction is proportional to the diffusion of the right of note issue. A single monopolist issuer, like the Bank of France, works its way with difficulty through a country, and advertises banking very slowly. The reason is that a central bank, which is governed in the capital, and descends on a country district, has much fewer modes of lending money safely than a bank of which the partners belong to that district, and know the men and things in it. A note issue is mainly begun by loans; there are then no deposits to be paid. But the mass of loans in a rural district are of small amount; the bills to be discounted are trifling; the persons borrowing are of small means and only local repute; the value of any property they wish to pledge depends on local circumstances. A banker who lives in the district, who has always lived there, whose whole mind is a history of the district and its changes, is easily able to lend money safely there. But a manager deputed by a single central establishment does so with

difficulty. The worst people will come to him and ask for loans. His ignorance is a mark for all the shrewd and crafty people thereabouts. He will have endless difficulties in establishing the circulation of the distant bank, because he has not the local knowledge which alone can teach him how to issue that circulation safely.

"A system of note issues is therefore the best introduction to a large system of deposit banking. As yet, historically, it is the only introduction : no nation, as yet, has arrived at a great system of deposit banking without going first through the preliminary stage of note issue, and of such note issues the quickest and most efficient in this way is one made by individuals resident in the district and conversant with it.

"This, therefore, is the reason why Lombard Street exists ; that is why England is a very great money market, and other European countries but small ones in comparison. In England and Scotland a diffused system of note issues started banks all over the country. In these banks the savings of the country have been lodged, and by these they have been sent to London. No similar system arose elsewhere, and in consequence London is full of money, and all Continental cities are empty as compared with it. The monarchical form of Lombard Street is due also to the note issue."

You will observe that the diffusion of notes can most quickly and efficiently be accomplished by an agent living in and familiar with the district and its people. The village co-operative society, working under the supervision of the Government, is the unit which fulfils this condition, and is therefore the best medium for the diffusion of paper money with its sequel, deposit banking. The faster, therefore, the co-operative movement is developed, the faster will the note issue develop : 750,000 Scotch bankers will make a difference to India. As the societies increase, and confidence in them grows, they will more and more draw into their coffers as deposits the money now lying dead in the districts. The money will flow into the Treasuries or State Bank, and flow out again as wanted. The reserves will be full of gold and silver. The silver purchases of Government will automatically decrease, and the gold

reserves will grow automatically with the growing exports. The development of deposit banking will provide the antidote to the wastage which the silver purchases of Government now involve ; and, by the teaching of Bagehot, all the elements required will be present for the building up in India of another great financial centre of the Empire.

Secured by gold and silver behind, and by canals and wells and crops in front, India's paper currency would be the finest currency in the world. It could never become inconvertible into silver, nor could her Treasury bills ever become inconvertible into gold ; but what is more serious for the people, her currency, whether gold, or silver, or paper, is becoming inconvertible into food. A rupee and a half now buy what one rupee bought formerly ; the eight annas have become inconvertible. This is the currency lesson which every man who has to buy food has learnt. Government has constructed a railway system which has linked up the villages with the produce markets of the world, and the high prices ruling outside draw out India's products. There is thus more money in the country, but relatively less food, hence the rupee buys less than before. To preserve the balance Government must also construct a banking system which will link up the villages with the money markets of the world, and so ensure that the man who grows the produce retains the price, and is thus encouraged to grow more. Without a banking system the railways may prove a curse as well as a blessing, by draining the country of its produce, while the money which comes in payment passes on to the Mahajan, and the people are left bare of both money and food. The gold and silver currents which flow into India fall chiefly into the Dead Sea of the Mahajan. There is many a deadly pool in India, many a dry channel, but few silver streams. There is plenty of money in India, but it is mostly dead, like the profit on the currency. Wring out of the dead gold in the the stagnant pools of the Government the power which lies dormant there, apply it by means of paper currency to the

development of credit and of the productive powers of the country, and the face of India will change; the fields will double the food-supply, and the mills will doubly hum in the manufacture of clothing and of bags for the bumper crops. No longer will so many of India's young men be looking for posts, for the posts will be looking for them. Plant the golden grain which is now lying dormant, and it will yield a hundredfold.

England has a bank agency for every 3,000 of her people; India has no bank for 250,000,000 of hers. Where the Mahajan flourishes the people decay and their cattle die of famine. Replace the Mahajan by the greatest bank in the world, its foundations well and truly laid, 2,000 miles long by 1,500 miles broad, and with its 315,000,000 of shareholders, India will lead the world. Credit is India's missing link, and until the link is fitted India will remain low in the scale of civilization. Credit is the banking name of that spiritual element called faith. The great bank will be a Temple of Faith between man and man, uniting all India in one great caste—the caste of human brotherhood.

The world is changing. What will India's place be in the future? Though the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong, there is nothing more certain than this—that a people which has round its neck the burden of a 40 per cent. finance will never win the race nor draw the breath of spiritual or political freedom. Only in unity will India find her soul, and the germ of Indian unity has been found nowhere but in co-operative finance. Reformed councils have their value in the economy of India: but a gilded dome is of less value than a sound foundation. Lay India's foundations strong in the unity of her people, and she will take her place in the forefront of the nations. The money is at hand to do it, and India may no longer wait. In recognition of her loyalty and of the blood she has shed for the Empire, give India the royal boon of financial and economic freedom, and she will move more quickly than

she has done in the past towards that goal for which she is destined, in the centre of the British Empire.

Since writing the above, I have seen a summary of the Government of India's resolution on Mr. Datta's inquiry into the rise in the price of food-grains. Mr. Datta would seem to have reached the conclusion that the population is outrunning the food-supply. Government, however, appears disposed to minimize Mr. Datta's finding, on the ground that the purchasing power of the people has increased by 38 per cent., that being Mr. Datta's estimate. The argument is that, having 38 per cent. more money than formerly, the people can import whatever additional food they may require. Government is, however, quite frank on this point, and says there is no evidence that additional food *has* been imported.

The true reading of Mr. Datta's finding would seem to be that the food-supply of the country, if not decreasing, is not increasing as fast as its money, and therefore the rupee cannot buy as much food as it did. The additional money is not an increase in purchasing power, for it cannot purchase additional food-grain which is not there. And is Government right in thinking that the people do receive the additional money which comes into the country? The resolution reads :

"As a rule cultivators grow their own food, and to ascertain, therefore, the changes in their real income resulting from the rise in prices, comparison has to be made between their expenditure as measured by their payments for rents or land revenue, wages and commodities purchased, and the conclusion to be drawn from this comparison is unmistakable. Wages have risen more rapidly even than prices ; but on the balance the gain in real income is manifest."

Have Government and Mr. Datta not overlooked one of the heaviest, if not the very heaviest, item in the cultivators' expenditure—viz., the wages paid to the Mahajan for the use of his money? The 38 additional rupees

which the cultivator receives in every 100 do not come to stay—they pass on to the Mahajan. Thirty-eight or $37\frac{1}{2}$ would seem to be India's mystic number, and in this number is locked up the secret of Indian poverty. The nominal rate of interest paid to the Mahajan is $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or six annas in the rupee, though with compound interest it is a great deal more. Government melts the sovereign into 24 rupees, of which it passes on to the cultivator 15 and retains 9, or sends the 9 wandering round the country attached to the sovereign, but leading an idle life. Nine rupees in 24 is $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. By the time Government and the Mahajan get their respective shares the "real income" of the cultivator is hardly 38 per cent. more than it was previously. If Mr. Datta had continued his four years' chase a little longer, he might have run the 38 rupees to earth in the currency chests of the Government and the Mahajan. It is there that the 38 per cent. additional power has become powerless for good or gone to sleep. Will Government now arouse it and put it to work in developing the latent powers of the country? and will Government develop a banking system which will enable the cultivator to hold on to the additional rupees? When this is done things will right themselves.

"That there has been during the last twenty years a remarkable growth in the general prosperity of India is a fact recognized by all impartial observers, and testified to by all statistical evidence."

So runs the Government resolution, and yet this is what the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces saw in his own province last year :

"There will be orphans for whose subsistence funds will be required. There are respectable persons who would rather die than go on relief works. They can be helped by providing grants or by giving them work to do at their homes. Lastly, at the end of the famine, there will be people who have managed to maintain their lives, but have lost almost all they had in the world. Grants of tools and

materials to weavers and artisans will be required to start them afresh in the struggle for life. Picture to yourself the mind of the villager who returns from his relief work and finds that he is left with no bullock to plough his fields or work his wells, no cow or goat for the needs of his health, and no money to buy them. It may seem a very minor tragedy to you or to me, but to him it is blank desolation and despair."

And this is what is to be seen in India whenever the rains fail, and will continue to be seen until the people are provided with a banking system which will enable them to retain the price of their products.

NEW CAPITAL ISSUES IN LONDON

DESTINATION OF NEW CAPITAL

	Whole Year, 1912. £	Whole Year, 1913. £	Whole Year, 1914. £
UNITED KINGDOM—TOTAL ...	45,335,300	35,951,200	30,442,400
BRITISH POSSESSIONS—			
Australasia	13,462,400	18,628,900	19,403,200
Canadian Dominion ...	46,983,200	14,110,000	45,430,400
India and Ceylon	3,708,200	3,824,000	6,150,200
South Africa	3,863,000	6,294,700	5,278,700
Other British Possessions	4,600,000	3,270,600	4,677,700
TOTAL BRITISH POSSESSIONS	72,616,800	70,137,200	80,940,200
FOREIGN COUNTRIES—			
Denmark	2,135,000	nil	nil
Norway	932,000	2,400,200	422,900
Russia	10,490,400	3,053,900	12,744,100
Sweden	nil	485,000	488,500
Other European countries	nil	nil	35,602,200
Argentine	20,119,200	11,980,600	15,005,700
Brazil	14,353,000	15,093,400	5,860,100
Central America	1,046,700	114,900	nil
Chile	2,282,200	2,699,400	2,533,100
Mexico	4,085,700	10,644,500	1,823,000
United States	23,934,700	18,746,100	10,395,200
Other South American Republics	100,000	525,000	1,242,200
China	5,950,200	6,883,000	709,000
Japan	3,230,800	nil	nil
Austria-Hungary	40,000	107,700	4,366,200
Belgium	nil	nil	4,902,500
Greece	35,000	nil	1,556,300
France	692,200	nil	50,000
Turkey	nil	nil	758,000
Germany and Possessions	175,800	nil	12,500
Dutch East Indies	153,500	1,497,700	32,000
Cuba	838,000	891,700	40,000
Philippine Islands	nil	712,500	360,000
Other foreign countries ...	2,656,500	2,403,000	nil
Total foreign countries ...	92,872,300	84,448,500	87,162,000
TOTAL FOR WHOLE YEAR	210,850,000	196,537,000	512,522,600

The comparatively large sum under the head of Belgium covers the two Belgian Government loans issued here in the early part of the year. The Colonial total has increased chiefly on account of Indian railway issues. If the Colonial Governments are unable to tempt the British investor on their own account, the British Government may lend its credit more than it has done so already.—*Economist*, December 26, 1914.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, March 8, 1915, a paper was read by Sir Daniel Mackinnon Hamilton entitled "India after the War, from the Economic Standpoint." Sir Arundel T. Arundel occupied the chair, in the absence of Sir Andrew H. L. Fraser, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Colonel Sir Colin Campbell Scott Moncrieff, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Lady Hamilton, Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick S. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lady Lely, Sir Frederick William Duke, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Owens Clark, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mrs. Marsh, Mr. F. G. Wigley, C.I.E., Mrs. Wigley, Surgeon-General Lyatt, C.I.E., Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Haigh, Miss H. M. Howsin, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Christy, Mrs. Collis, Miss Barton, Mrs. and Miss Watson, Mr. C. A. Louf, Mr. B. Puttaiyar, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. J. M. Kennedy, Mrs. Strong, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. Nash, Mrs. White, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. B. N. Ghose, the Rev. J. Maciness, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. Sampuran Singh, Mr. C. L. Gulati, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mr. Hassanally, Mr. Mark B. E. Major, Mr. L. Beiletty, Mrs. Slater, Mr. and Mrs. D. A. Campbell, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Major A. Mason, Miss Lindscey, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.

The SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, I regret to say that I have just received a telegram from Sir Andrew Fraser, who had arranged to meet our lecturer this afternoon, saying: "Unexpectedly prevented from coming. It is impossible for me to come. Make my apology and express my deep regret."

I am glad to say that in his absence Sir Arundel T. Arundel has kindly consented to take the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I am very sorry it has fallen to me to take the chair on this occasion, although I am glad to do it for the benefit of my old friend Sir Daniel Hamilton.

Before introducing our lecturer, I should like to say that the meeting which follows this is for the purpose of considering and taking any steps that might be thought necessary with regard to the regretted death of Mr. Gokhale, whom many of us here have known for many years, and who has devoted his life and his energies to the good of his fellow-countrymen in India.

With regard to our lecturer this afternoon, Sir Daniel Hamilton has been many years in India, and he has devoted his wealth and time and thought to the benefit of the people there in charitable measures of every kind calculated to be for their benefit. I need say no more, but will simply call upon him to read his paper.

The lecturer, who was received with applause, then read the paper.

The Chairman, SIR ARUNDEL ARNOLD, said that Sir Daniel Hamilton had given a most thoughtful and interesting lecture, and that all present would sympathize with his earnest desire for economic regeneration among the indebted classes in India.

He wished to make a few comments on two matters referred to in the paper. The lecturer assumed that 10,000,000 wells were wanted in India, and that the average cost of each might be Rs. 100 or 250, and he suggested that the co-operative village societies should be entrusted with the working of the Government Takavi loans, so that for every 10 rupees borrowed from the State Bank a foot of well was sunk. Sir Arundel would merely remark that outside the great river deltas the problem of successful well-sinking was in many regions one of great difficulty and uncertainty.

The second matter to which he wished to allude related to the co-operative village societies and to Sir Daniel Hamilton's proposal to aid them with funds derived from the profits made by Government on the currency, a proposal on which the Secretary of State and the Government of India would have much to say. The famous founders of these valuable village institutions which have made such progress on the continent of Europe were Schultze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen. The basic principle laid down by these distinguished men was that everything must depend on self-help and co-operation among the constituent members of the society, with the object of encouraging thrift and economy and the efficient utilization of the funds contributed by all. The Socialist, Lassalle, on the other hand, advocated State loans, and was in complete opposition to Schultze-Delitzsch. Sir Daniel Hamilton would apparently subvert the basic principle of the latter, or modify it by the introduction of State loans, aided by an efficient system of banking. He points to the splendid economic results achieved in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by an admirable system of banking. This appears to have been the issue of bank-notes for small sums by banks, the liability of whose shareholders was unlimited. But these results were obtained without State loans of any kind and were due to "the character of the people, their integrity, their honour." Even so, the nature of these banks was not without serious danger. In 1857 the Western Bank, with about one hundred branches and a capital of £1,500,000, with a circulation of £400,000, suspended payment, and the shareholders, with their unlimited

liability, had to repay the depositors and the note-holders. In 1878 the City of Glasgow Bank, with 133 branches, suspended payment. The liabilities were £12,400,000 and the assets £6,300,000. Directors and managers were tried and convicted for the issue of false balance-sheets. Great numbers of shareholders—their liability being unlimited—were utterly ruined. Trustees for shareholders were held equally liable, and were equally unfortunate.

All the village co-operative societies in India are composed of shareholders with unlimited liability. Can we think that the poverty-stricken strata of the people of India possess the steadiness, the integrity, the honour of the canny Scot, and can achieve results that took Scotland a century and a half, reckoning from 1688—taking also for granted that great bank failures will be avoided? What can we learn from the present conditions of the village co-operative societies in India that have been formed under the Act of 1904? Here is an extract from a letter by a missionary, Mr. Thomssen, (American, I understand), resident in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, and an enthusiastic supporter of co-operation. It is published in the *Madras Weekly Mail* of January 28. Referring to "the village officials and the rich and influential men of the community," Mr. Thomssen writes: "It is too bad that these bosses of the village also seek to control the co-operative associations that are established in their villages. They are sure to secure large loans for themselves, and are **very** slow in repaying them. They are dogs in the manger and prevent the poor villagers from securing loans. All this must be changed. In establishing a co-operative association, Government must see to it that unselfish, patriotic, sympathetic leaders are selected, who will live up to the maxim: "Right, and only Right, is Might." In the same paper is quoted a speech by an Indian, Mr. Krishnasami Iyer, Inspector of Co-operative Credit Societies; he said: "It is a matter for regret that in as many as nineteen societies for a whole year there has not been even a single general meeting. The total amount of loans in default for all the sixty-six societies [of the Tanjore district] has risen from Rs. 52853 in 1912-1913 to Rs. 83789 in 1913-1914." In the same paper is the report of the fourth annual district conference in Tanjore. The Hon. Mr. Buckley (clearly reverting to the basic principle of Schulze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen), said: "In one of the resolutions to be proposed to-day it is suggested that legislation should be initiated so as to allow central societies to raise debenture loans, Government guaranteeing the interest. Speaking for myself, I look upon that as a dangerous suggestion. Co-operation, to be really sound and healthy, must depend upon the people themselves, and not upon Government. . . . In the same plane is the present practice whereby the accounts of the societies are audited by Government officers. This undoubtedly gives to the multitude an idea that there is a Government guarantee behind the societies, and in my opinion we ought to look forward to the time when a Government audit will be supplanted by an audit by private individuals of ability and trustworthiness. It will be impossible in all probability for Government to continue to audit the societies if they increase by leaps and bounds, as we all hope they may.

As for myself, I look forward to the time when there will be a body of public accountants who will be able to conduct the audit of all the societies in the Presidency. . . . The object of co-operation is to encourage thrift and self-help, and I think there cannot be any doubt that societies ought to rely more largely upon capital contributed by their own members. . . . The report of the past year has one discouraging feature - there is a tendency to look for benefits, and to fail to realize responsibilities. A very large proportion of what was due was not paid on the due dates. . . . It is impossible for Government to compel punctual payments. Punctuality can only be enforced by strong public opinion within the societies. . . . Co-operation is of no use if it is regarded merely as a Government Department. The health, the vigour and the life of co-operation must come from within." From the same paper is quoted an extract from the Order of the Madras Government reviewing the working of the Co-operative Societies Act for 1913-1914:

"The Government note with regret the discouraging feature of the year's working to be found in the increased proportion of arrears due to societies and from societies to banks both on account of principal and interest. They regard the punctual recovery of loans as they fall due and of interest as an important matter and the growing neglect of such recovery as likely seriously to retard and discredit the movement. The fact that among agricultural societies so large a proportion as 24 per cent. of the loans and 24.75 per cent. of the interest falling due within the year was not collected is a matter demanding the serious attention, not only of the registrar and his officers, but of all interested in the success of the movement."

Sir A. Arundel continued: From the time of the discussions at Simla on Co-operative Credit Societies, which preceded the Act of 1904, he had been of opinion that there was a possibility, if not a probability, of political danger in the future if the formation and furtherance of these societies under the patronage and persuasion of Government were not carried out with great circumspection. Sooner or later what has happened in the past will happen again in the future; there will be several bad years, with failure of rains and crops and cattle over large areas. Co-operative societies that have been seriously and injudiciously mismanaged will collapse, and the shareholders with their unlimited liability will be exposed to ruin. They will naturally turn upon the Government and say: "It was you who persuaded us to undertake these societies and to pledge our all in their support. We did not ask for them or desire them and should have continued to carry on with the Mahajan or Sowcar as in the long past. We look to you to save us, and to reimburse all that we have lost." The foregoing are among the reasons that led the speaker to question the wisdom of the new methods proposed by the sympathetic philanthropy of Sir Daniel Hamilton. *Festina lente* appears to be the only safe motto in

* See also an article from the *Madras Weekly Mail*, February 11, 1915, at the end of this discussion.

carrying out so vast an undertaking, the success of which will undoubtedly transform the economical condition of a great population.

MR. MAJOR said it was an unexpected privilege to be allowed to start the discussion, but he hoped it did not mean it was such a difficult subject that they were afraid to tackle it! The fact of such a paper being read was evidence of the splendid work that patient officials had been doing in India for many years out of pure devotion and without self-seeking, making mistakes no doubt, but always working in the interests of the people themselves. The very splendid results of that work we could see to-day in the way the Indian people were backing up our own people in the trenches.

Coming to the main question, he said he was glad to have heard the Chairman's remarks about the co-operative side of the movement, as he might have lost sight of this, and his own view was that the lecturer had not gone nearly far enough, and that he would find that deposit banks would provide what was needed. He hoped anything he might say by way of criticism would be understood to be perfectly friendly and said in no mere carping spirit: for he did not suppose the lecturer had had the advantage of coming across the particular line of thought which would help those concerned with the conditions in India to solve the problem not only for India, but for the British Empire, and perhaps for the world at large: for he thought the world would follow the British Empire. He wished to draw attention to the frank recognition the lecturer had given to the fact that our banking system has failed. He did not believe people realized when the war broke out what it would have meant if the Government had not stepped in, but had allowed the banks to fail; because that is what must have happened. In plain language, the bankers were found wanting just when the nation wanted its banking system to be strong, and if the Government had allowed them to fail it would have meant that the country would have had only about 3 per cent. of its money to carry on civilized daily life with; it would have meant absolute chaos. Then the lecturer pointed out that State credit was the best. Certainly, if it was founded on the truth. Apparently, however, the lecturer still pinned his faith to gold----

The LECTURER: No, you are quite wrong.

MR. MAJOR said he was delighted to hear it, because, if so, there was still hope he would come to see how he could establish in India on an absolutely firm foundation State banking without the phantom gold behind it at all. The lecturer pointed out, however, that the reserves would be full of gold and silver, but he could not understand how he proposed to issue sufficient notes to the people in the place of gold and silver.

As to the statement that those notes would not cause a redundancy of currency, the lecturer got very close to the foundation of the principle that should underlie all issues of paper money, which was that there should be some definite standard by which to judge them, so that over-issues might be avoided. Some of them may remember that Sir George Paish pointed out that the cheque currency was the best form of currency, but he thought they would agree with him in thinking that if it was, then

Heaven help the currency, because it had failed absolutely in this country when war broke out.

But the lecturer referred to Mr. Datta's finding with reference to the increase in food prices, and to say that the food of the country was not increasing as fast as its money issues was to show that there were over-issues of money. The fact was the price of the food of the people of a country would be found to supply the standard required to determine the amount of money issues required, and if the food of the people remained at an average price over a term of years, they might begin to feel the currency was on the right footing. He hoped the lecturer would come to see that deposit banks were what India wanted, but they should not be trading banks. When the people wanted money, they would have to find someone who had money in a deposit bank and who was prepared to lend it to them, taking in return a share of their profits as a reward.

Mr. Major concluded by expressing the belief that if the lecturer and all those connected with the Association who were interested in the question would follow the matter up in Cecil Bastour Phypson's "Redemption of Labour," where such subjects as "Foreign Exchange with India," "Depreciation in Indian Exchanges," etc., were minutely investigated, they would learn how to bring about all that the lecturer desired.

The Secretary then read the following letter from Sir Morton Frewen

March 7, 1915.

MY DEAR DR. POLLEN,

I have read the paper, and passed on from it to read the evidence the writer gave before the recent Indian Currency Commission.

He quite puzzled the Commissioners, and he equally puzzles me with his economics. They are, as the Americans say, "like nothing on earth."

(Signed) MORTON FREWEN.

MR. SAMPURAM SINGH said that the one point which had interested him in the paper was the question of the Mahajan, and he thought that, after the profession of agriculture, if there was any other profession carried on by a number of Indians, it was that of the Mahajan. India was purely agricultural, and it was generally the people who did the work who always complained about the middleman. In fact, many economic troubles throughout the world arose from that question. It would be difficult to do away with the Mahajans, unless they supplied something to take their place—namely, capital. He did not blame the officials, but he thought the people, as a nation, were lacking in co-operation, and they had not developed for themselves the industrial system. He was of opinion that India, as a whole, was still lacking in the power of utilizing money.

SIR LANCELOT HARE said he was not prepared to enter into a discussion of the paper which had just been read. He would only notice one point. He understood that one item of the proposals was to raise a large sum of money by the issue of paper money. Sir Daniel Hamilton appeared to be of the opinion that the price of food in India had gone up because money had increased in the country. Surely if a large amount of paper money was added to the currency prices would still further increase? Currency

questions were proverbially difficult and intricate, and he did not propose to take up their time with the discussion of these matters.

COLONEL YATE, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman, said that the meeting particularly owed a debt of gratitude to the Chairman for taking the chair at such short notice. He had given them a most instructive and admirable speech, which had necessitated considerable research, for which they were greatly indebted to him. With regard to the Lecturer, he (Colonel Yate) was not well versed in banking matters, and could not speak on that subject, but he felt sure that all were agreed in that they wished to see both canal and well irrigation in India largely increased, but whether the Government of India would help in the manner suggested or not must be left to the Government to say. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

MR. REID said that what India wanted—and it was undoubtedly the best banking system for them—was for the *rupee* to put her money into the soil. If the Government of India would supply the indigo-planter with coal instead of sending it to Calcutta and Bombay, industry would be revolutionized.

SIR ANDREW LEITCH, who was prevented from attending the meeting, writes: We are all greatly indebted to Sir Daniel Hamilton for his interesting and suggestive paper. I do not feel able adequately to appraise its value or to criticize it, or to deal satisfactorily with the important questions to which it refers. But I am glad of the opportunity of perusing it, and of expressing my views in a general way on some of these questions.

May I be permitted to begin my remarks with an expression of my most hearty concurrence with Sir Daniel's high appreciation of the late Mr. Gokhale? I first made Mr. Gokhale's acquaintance over sixteen years ago, when acting as Home Secretary to the Government of India. He had then begun his life of service to India, and he never wavered in his devotion to her, while he became year by year more effective and more useful in his work. I have enjoyed his friendship ever since. It was inevitable that we should differ on some questions; and I sometimes felt—especially in the earlier years of our acquaintance—that he was somewhat too precipitate and impatient. But my respect for him and my appreciation of his work were the greater the more I knew him. His political services to the peoples of India was great; his social and economic services were greater still. We mourn the loss of a wise and good friend of India.

Sir Daniel Hamilton begins his paper with a quotation from Mr. Roberts's speech in the House of Commons, in which the then Under-Secretary for India suggested that the participation of India in the great work which the Empire is called on to do must "alter the angle from which we shall all henceforward look at the problems of the Government of India." Sir Daniel then goes on to make certain suggestions regarding the future treatment of matters deeply concerning the peoples of India. It is possible to accept Mr. Roberts's view, and yet to doubt whether the time has yet come for discussing the action to be taken "after the war." The righteous and reasonable confidence as to the result of the war, which has more than once been so well expressed by the Prime Minister,

ought to animate us all. But we cannot afford to underestimate the task that is before us and our Allies. We cannot therefore fail to have some sympathy with any who may say that we must not rashly anticipate the conclusion of the war.

At the same time, we cannot have failed to follow with our hearty sympathy and our earnest attention what Sir Daniel has so well said about the financial and economic position and needs of India. And there is, after all, nothing out of place in our considering the questions to which he has drawn our attention. They are not new. They demand attention, altogether apart from the war, by the mere fact that they intimately concern the best interests of the peoples committed to our charge in the great Indian Empire. The present attitude of India, of which not only her loyal peoples, but also the British Government have every reason to be proud, will not affect our attitude toward these questions, except that it will render it easier, as well as more clearly incumbent on the Government, to deal with them earnestly and generously.

I shall now lightly touch on the details of Sir Daniel's paper. The plea for "economic independence" freedom from the control of the Secretary of State in financial and economic affairs" made at the beginning of the paper, cannot fail to appeal to my old Anglo-Indian official. I am not, however, prepared to say that I believe that the time has yet come when the control of the Secretary of State, and of the British Parliament through him, can be wholly dispensed with, even in respect of the financial and economic affairs of India. It is desirable that the Secretary of State should be kept fully informed of all that is being done in India in respect of these affairs; and his advice and counsel may often be of much advantage. But, on the other hand, I most certainly do feel very strongly that the resources of India should be used, as far as possible, for the benefit of India. The interests of India should not be made in this respect subservient or subordinate to those of the Mother Country. This is probably what is meant by economic independence. If so, it has my hearty support.

With all that Sir Daniel has said regarding "the greatest of India's needs—viz., unity and a banking system for the people," and regarding "the greatest stumbling-blocks in the path of India's progress—viz., the separateness of the people and the power of the Mahajan"—I most emphatically concur. His enthusiastic appreciation of the object of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act, 1904, and of the excellent work which that Act originated, commands also my hearty assent. I speak with some experience of that work; and there are no words that I could use which would be too strong to express the great expectations which I have conceived of the blessings which may be derived from it by the peoples of India. Experience elsewhere has shown, what sound economic principles clearly teach, that co-operation in some kind of land-banking will be of the greatest possible benefit to India. So far as we have already had experience in India, it has all been strongly corroborative of this view. Sir Daniel has made important quotations from reports of the working of the co-operative societies to this effect; and these are only typical of the

unanimous opinion of the local officers and the local governments who have given time and effort to this work.

Sir Daniel goes on to point out that what India requires is "a banking system for the people, and an increased co-operative staff." He complains that the progress made has been disappointing, and he has proposals to make for finding funds for a much more vigorous advance. "The money," he says, "to pay the salaries of the enlarged co-operative credit department, and for a good deal more besides, is to be had from the profit, coined and uncoined, on the currency." He would utilize the gold reserve; he would "leave the gold where it is and issue paper money against it, and use the paper money in paying the salaries of the increased co-operative staff." It is at this point in his paper that Sir Daniel reaches somewhat debatable ground. It is well to have our attention directed to such a scheme; but it is not possible for me to come at once to a clear and decided judgment regarding it.

What Sir Daniel says regarding the lessons of the war in regard to the power of credit is of the greatest value. His account also of Scottish banking is of great practical importance in connection with this subject. He seems also to advocate State interference to a degree which cannot but command our attention as coming from a distinguished and successful Anglo-Indian non-official. In all this, however, he has raised questions which, though of great interest, are also of a highly debatable character.

We will agree at once that the great economic curse of India is the usury described by Adam Smith and deplored by every experienced friend of India. We will agree also that co-operative credit seems to be the only hopeful and effective remedy. But I hesitate about accepting proposals that seem to mean the application of that remedy by a great State Department. As in regard to education, so very much more in regard to co-operative credit, I feel that we must rely very largely on private effort, assisted and supervised by the State. Has it not been proved by all the experience we have had in other countries that co-operation succeeds the better the less it is directed by the State? Its success appears to be in inverse ratio to the amount of State direction. Assistance from the State is undoubtedly desirable in the initial stages of the work; but the whole conception of the scheme, and the main advantages claimed for it, are that it encourages self-help, self-reliance, and fellow-working among the people themselves. The State was bound in India to take the lead. It was bound to instruct the people. It is bound still to encourage and assist them. It must continue to supervise and aid the work; but it should not take it out of the hands of the people, so as itself to do, or even to direct, the work.

There is also much that is debatable in what Sir Daniel proposes as his scheme for providing funds to further this movement and for other purposes. He proposes to utilize the currency reserve. Twenty-five millions of pounds are lying unemployed "in order to pay off an adverse trade balance which occurs once in ten or fifteen years in times of stress like the present, or in famine when India cannot pay her debt in produce." This great reserve very naturally excites Sir Daniel's beneficent cupidity.

He longs to see it applied to the removal of evils which he sees so clearly, and which, in my opinion, he does not in the least exaggerate. But I am bound to say that this proposal to seize and utilize this reserve startles one. I find that the Currency Commission are not only in favour of maintaining this reserve; they actually propose to increase it. I am very far from saying that they are right, and that Sir Daniel is wrong. I find that, while they are maintaining that even twenty-five millions is not an adequate reserve, Messrs. Samuel Montague and Co. in their weekly bullion circular, comparing the figures for the end of January last with those for the end of 1913, show "that, notwithstanding the severity of the [present] crisis, by which the soundness of things financial has been probed to the core, the combined gold reserves that form the equipoise of the Indian currency system have been reduced since the end of 1913 merely to the extent of nine millions." That is all that has been required to square the adverse trade balance, even at a time like this of great financial crisis, and with famine conditions in parts of India. There would appear to be ground for very careful examination of the conclusions embodied in the Currency Commission's Report.

But supposing that the reserves may safely be reduced, is Sir Daniel's plan for utilizing them quite clearly sound? The proposal to issue a mass of paper currency to promote co-operative banking presents difficulties. Inconvertible paper money can only depreciate the currency. Convertible paper money will only be used where the necessities of the currency as a medium of exchange demand it. There are stories of Scottish banking which must not be forgotten in this connection; stories of "panics" and "runs" on the banks. The danger of these in India is not imaginary. It is essential to be as fully prepared for any such danger, as a reasonable understanding of financial history and of the character of the peoples affected permits. This proposal, therefore, requires full and careful consideration. I do not say that the proposal is unsound; but I confess that I feel that it requires more consideration and a wider knowledge than I am now able to bring to bear on it.

The Report of the Currency Commission and that on the inquiry into Indian prices both fall to be considered in this connection. I agree with Sir Daniel that the experience of our War Finance may throw light on these reports that we have not anticipated. Meanwhile, however, the obsession of the war leads to the postponement of the consideration even of these reports. We must await the close of the war. So also must it be with Sir Daniel's scheme. It seems hopeless to expect that we shall be in a position to give it effective and adequate consideration until these troubles are overpast.

In conclusion I desire again to express my full concurrence in Sir Daniel's view that the progress made in regard to co-operative credit banks has been somewhat disappointing. He has shown us what excellent and valuable results—both social and economic—are attributed, by those who know, to the working of the system. Yet he has also had to lay before us figures which indicate that the progress made has been far too small in itself, and also compares unfavourably with progress in other countries.

I have just been reading the Report on the working of co-operative societies in Bengal for the year 1913-1914. It is in many respects a gratifying report. Societies have increased from 1,123 to 1,663, or 48 per cent.; membership from 56,589 to 90,363, or 59 per cent.; and the working capital from 46 to 89 lakhs of rupees. These figures show marked progress. The Report also shows "that the expansion of the movement has been accompanied by intensive development." It contains ample evidence "that a marked improvement has been made in the adequate financing of Societies, and in their management and supervision." We find also the Government, as well as the Registrar, fully recognizing the direct and indirect effect of the work on the character and well-being of the people. But, after all, it must be admitted that it is disappointing, ten years after the passing of the Act in 1904, to find only 1,663 societies with just over 90,000 members in a province like Bengal.

I am no advocate of rash and precipitate action in pushing such a movement as this. But, in view of the results which are being already recognized, and in view of the tremendous obstacle to progress which it is the aim of this system to remove, I cannot persuade myself that anything like adequate effort has been made to encourage the movement. We do not desire to see Government doing the work; but we do desire to see Government doing its utmost to aid and encourage it. We have in Bengal and elsewhere remarkable cases of excellent work done by Government officers in instructing the people and calling forth private effort, and of marked success achieved by large-hearted zamindars in their own estates, by Government officers in estates under the Court of Wards, by missionary societies in their spheres of influence, and by such philanthropic persons as the "Friends of India Society." All this is very hopeful. It is enough to stimulate interest on the part of Government on the one hand, and of the public on the other. But it ought to be increased far more rapidly. All well-wishers of India may reasonably be inspired with enthusiasm to do what they can to advance this movement. Caution and circumspection are necessary: there are pitfalls to be avoided; and the consequences of any failure would be very serious. But the call to devoted and effective work is perhaps unprecedentedly clear and emphatic.

Though I am unable, as at present advised, to give unhesitating support to all Sir Daniel's financial proposals, I have the deepest sympathy with his object and with his main contention. I wish him full success in his endeavour to stir up both the Government and all who have any influence in India to take a deeper and more effective interest in this movement. I know something of what he has done for it in the past, and that there are few, if any, of the true friends of India who are more worthy of a respectful and sympathetic hearing than he. We owe him much for the interesting and suggestive paper which he has laid before us.

SIR DANIEL HAMILTON'S REPLY.

I am sorry if I have given Sir Andrew Fraser or Sir Arundel Arundel the impression that I have a desire to depart from the basic principle of the co-operative credit movement, which is, that the movement should depend

upon the people themselves for financial support rather than upon Government. If Sir Andrew and Sir Arundel will read my paper carefully they will find that I have no such desire. My suggestion with regard to the development of the note issue is made with the direct object of developing the basic principle referred to. The history of banking teaches that an increased issue of notes leads to an increase in bank deposits; therefore, the greater the note circulation the more will the basic principle be realized, and the less will financial support be required from Government. I am as strongly opposed as Sir Arundel to what he describes as "sympathetic philanthropy." What India wants is not sympathetic philanthropy, but sympathetic business. *Let's get on* is an excellent motto, but the business world is of opinion that the Government of India acts on it too literally. Is it not strange that a country like Australia, with a population of only 4½ millions can manage, even in war time, for a regular development programme—a programme to cost £18,000,000 this year, while India, with a population of 315 millions has to cut down her programme to half that of Australia? For years past the Indian business world has been calling for a regular development programme, but India's financial experts have not yet been able to give her anything better than the programme which is known as "the gamble in ruin." The following cutting from the *Economist* will show you what Australia is doing.

"The problem of enabling the various State Governments to maintain loan expenditure on the construction of railways and other public works on the same scale during war as during peace was considered at a recent conference between the State Premiers and the Commonwealth Government, the latter agreeing to provide an amount of £18,000,000. The applications from the States for the allotment of this amount were as follows:

	£
New South Wales	3,000,000
Victoria	4,000,000
Western Australia	3,000,000
South Australia	3,000,000
Tasmania	1,000,000
	19,000,000

"To bring the total down to £18,000,000, the amounts have been slightly reduced, New South Wales, for example, receiving about £7,400,000. The total amount to be spent by New South Wales during the current financial year (ending June 30, 1915) for development purposes, out of loan money, is £9,000,000, and the difference of £1,600,000 is to be raised otherwise.

"A complete view of the special financial requirements of Australia will not be possible until the Commonwealth Premier delivers his Budget speech. In addition to the £18,000,000 required by the States for development, as above, the Commonwealth Government itself has to provide for its military and naval expenditure, this being done by means of the inclusion of £18,000,000 in the British War Loan. The £18,000,000 to be advanced by the Commonwealth to the States is being

2 *India after the War, from the Economic Standpoint*

obtained from other sources, largely by means of a local arrangement with the banks, who will lend to the Government and receive notes in exchange."

The Commonwealth Government is giving New South Wales, with a population of a million and a half, the same amount for public works as the Government of India is spending on 315 millions of people. What would not the Indian provincial Governments give to be financed in so princely a fashion by their superior? When I see, too, what Australia is doing in the issue of paper money I am astounded at my moderation. To carry out a regular development programme the Commonwealth Government is borrowing money from the Australian banks, and giving the banks currency notes in exchange. The Government uses the money to pay for public works, and the banks issue the notes to a confiding public. The money is therefore made to do double work, and, of course, the more work it does the richer becomes the country. I am proceeding on more modest lines, for I am suggesting that the money do single work only.

As regards the Scotch banks, it was not the fault of the Scotch Credit system that the City of Glasgow Bank failed. The system had nothing whatever to do with it. The failure was entirely the fault of the directors in lending money where they ought not to have lent it. A study of the banking crisis of last August will show that it was largely owing to the adoption of the Scottish banking principle by Government that the trade wheel of the Empire again began to move. Government followed the old Scottish banking principle in issuing one pound notes without waiting for gold to back the notes. It is a matter of history that every great financial crisis of the last 150 years has been surmounted by an increased issue of inconvertible paper money. Gold or, rather, the want of it, has caused the panic, while inconvertible paper money has allayed it. I, however, do not recommend the issue of more paper money than can be backed by gold or silver, or securities which can be turned into these, and Sir Andrew Fraser is in error in thinking that I do. But I do strongly object to India losing the use of millions of money which she so badly wants for development of every kind. The Currency Commission thought £25,000,000 insufficient for an adverse trade balance, whereas £9,000,000 have proved sufficient in the greatest financial crisis in the history of the world, with a famine besides in Northern India.

Sir Arundel has rightly remarked that, where so much depends upon character what applies in Scotland may not apply in India. The reply to that is, that co-operative credit develops character, so that we may yet see India turned into a land of Scotchmen.

Mr. Moreton Frewin is evidently feeling sore that his free silver proposals were rejected by the Currency Commission.

Sir Lancelot Hare is afraid that, if an increase of money means an increase in prices, the issue of paper money against the gold standard reserve might still more raise the price of food, but this would not follow. There is paper money and paper money. When paper is issued against nothing, or for war purposes, the tendency is for prices to rise, conversely when issued to increase production, the tendency would be to check a rise

in prices. Every five or ten rupee-note issued would have something to show for it.

If Mr. Major will be kind enough to send me one of Phipson's books explaining his ideas in detail I shall be glad to consider them. Theoretically, State paper currency without metallic backing is the best of all currencies, for it is the most economical; and the world would appear to be moving in that direction, but in a country like India the time is not yet ripe for it. If Government had been unable to cash its notes when war broke out the position might have become very serious. Phipson's proposals, if I understand them aright, have another defect, and that is, they do not provide for a regular development programme. The issue of notes is to be regulated by the condition of the harvest, but this is just what the business world protests against.

In an article which appeared in *The Times* the other day progress in India was said to consist in a series of long pauses. A pause since the days of Adam Smith in the development of a banking system for the people is getting monotonous. The development of credit is the chief want of the people of India, a development which will cost less than any other. I hope, therefore, it will proceed with more rapidity in the future than it has done in the past.

The difficulties in Madras to which Sir Arnold referred confirm all I have said about the need for more organized help to organize and direct the co-operative movement on to proper lines.

CO-OPERATION IN MADRAS

The Annual Report on the working of the co-operative societies in the Madras Presidency for the year ending June 30, 1913, is, as we said the other day, a most interesting publication for a variety of reasons. The Registrar, Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillay, has placed a very full and informing report before the public, and both the Government and the Board of Revenue, especially the latter, have realized the fact that the time has come when perfunctory laudation of the excellence of a young and progressing institution must give place to genuine criticism, if the movement is not to perpetuate its present irregularities. We do not mean to say that the movement has not progressed during the year, and that such progress as has been made has not been satisfactory; but it is equally certain that mistakes and irregularities have crept in which will have to be eradicated with a relentless hand. The Board of Revenue is, perhaps, unduly pessimistic when it begs Government not to persist in the execution of sanitary works by co-operation, in the following terms: "The Report of the past year shows how seriously co-operators have failed to carry out their responsibilities to their societies, and how much they have yet to be taught. They have more than enough to learn as it is, and it is undesirable to divert the attention of societies outside the scope of their legitimate duties."

The most important of the defects noticed may be summed up as follows: Unpunctuality in the payment of principal and interest on loans, as indicated by the increased proportion of arrears due to societies and from

societies to the banks; the tendency on the part of agricultural societies to prefer mortgages to personal security, and the growing proportion of loans granted for unproductive purposes by non-agricultural societies. In the first week of this year the Provincial Co-operative Conference was held, at which the Honourable Sir Harold Stuart presided, and delivered an excellent and sympathetic speech. He had had the opportunity of reading the Report under review, and his criticisms covered much of the ground that we have now to deal with. Once again he warned the meeting against regarding the movement as a means of obtaining cheap credit. "It is one of the first principles of co-operation that it should be founded on thrift. . . . It is no mere money-getting concern. If the co-operative movement merely meant the providing of facilities for borrowing on easy terms it would have no claim on the State for guidance and help." This is the elementary truth regarding the subject, and the sooner it is brought home to many of the members of co-operative credit societies the better will it be for the movement in the future. The matter on which punctuality in the payment of loans is that about which the authorities are chiefly concerned at present. And very rightly, too, because the traditional disinclination, rather than the disability, to pay dues on a stipulated date, is at the bottom of much of the heavy usury conditions from which India suffers. The patient sower has in the past been always pictured to the punctual sinner in the matter of loans, notwithstanding the immense difference in the terms of each. And the same policy is now being pursued with the co-operative societies, but with this difference, that in the great majority of cases the co-operative societies are allowing themselves to be imposed upon.

The Registrar deals with the matter from two points of view—namely, the alleged laxity on the part of the inspecting staff and Panchayets of the agricultural societies, and the loss to central societies. As regards the latter, he points out that unless client societies discharge their dues to the central banks, the latter must fail to discharge their dues to their own creditors, and the beginning of the end of the co-operative credit movement will come. "The fact," says the Registrar, "that central banks strain every nerve to discharge this burden, even the fact that they at present discharge it most honourably, is . . . no guarantee that with such an unreliable partner as the agricultural societies they will always keep their credit intact." The remedy suggested by the Registrar is the setting apart by the central banks of a portion of their profits for the purpose of paying a staff for inspecting and keeping client societies up to the mark in the matter of the payment of their dues. If this were done, the latter would see to it that their creditors did the same. As regards the charge of laxity of the inspecting staff and Panchayets of agricultural societies, the Registrar offers a rather laboured excuse; but he is eventually forced to admit that "the sudden influx of societies and of members brought into full play the traditional unpunctuality which in India is the growth of ages." "It is no doubt due to this unpunctuality," the Registrar continues, "that the rate of interest still rules so high, notwithstanding the rise in the value of all securities, the ease, cheapness, and certainty of recovering debts in

a Court of Law, and other advantages of a highly organized administration. From this point of view the co-operative battle has to be waged not so much against the usury of the lender as against the unpunctuality of the borrower." A good many hard words have been said in the past regarding the grasping avariciousness of the sowear; but this indicates that the sowear is what he has been made. He is too good a business man not to know the advantage of the maxim of moderate profits and quick returns in his business. If the borrower prefers a more happy-go-lucky way of conducting his transactions, then he must pay for it. One does not expect co-operative credit societies, however, to encourage this sort of thing, and that is why we agree with the Board of Revenue in wondering "whether we have not been going too fast by giving the people a food they are backward to digest." The Registrar's pounce is a more official inspection; but against this the Board protests as only intensifying that official interference which it is the declared policy of Government to reduce to a minimum. The only possible and permanent reform must come from within. (*The Indian Weekly Mail*, February 11, 1915.)

THE INDIAN SOLDIERS' FUND

The following resolution was passed by the Council of the Eastern India Association at a meeting held on Monday, October 19, 1914:

It was proposed by Sir William Owen Clark, seconded by Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, and carried unanimously:

"That the Association subscribe £,500 to the Indian Soldiers' Fund, and that subscriptions be invited from individual Members also."

(Signed) J. POTTEN,

Hon. Secretary.

		£.	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged	...	195	5	0
The Hon. Maharaja of Balrampur	...	10	0	0
H.H. the Maharaja of Dungarpur	...	10	0	0
The Zamindar of Chikati	...	5	0	0
The Thakore Sahib of Limbdi	...	2	0	0
P. C. Unrigar, Esq.	...	1	5	0
The Maharaja of Cossimbazar	...	0	10	0
S. Athin, Esq.	...	0	10	0
G. M. Ryan, Esq.	...	0	10	0
		<hr/>		
		£135	0	0

THE JAPAN SOCIETY

PROFESSOR WILLIAM GOWLAND, F.R.S., was the lecturer of the Japan Society on March 2, when he gave a résumé of a lengthy paper on the metallurgy and metal-work of old Japan, Sir C. Hercules Read being in the chair.

The subject is so vast that its comprehensive treatment would require not an hour's lecture, but several days, yet the lecturer was successful in compressing within the time allotted him a mass of information of scientific and artistic interest in a manner eminently satisfactory to the audience.

Referring back to the earliest days of Japan, the lecturer showed that the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age have left characteristic relics which have been found in the tumuli and dolmen sepulchres of the Yamato period. Two races invaded Japan: one from China or Korea settled in Izumo, the other, coming from the South, advanced in Kyushu. This latter race had a peculiar weapon, a sword made of iron and steel, with a straight blade; horse-trappings and other fittings of that period were of iron or of copper gilt.

Amongst the monuments of the Nara period, the statues and figures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas are the most interesting. The introduction of Buddhism was, indeed, the *fons et origo* of Japanese art, and how large a range the art of metal-working covered can be understood when one compares the tiny figures of Kwannon with the huge Daibutsu enshrined in the Daibutsudo of Nara. To a later period, that of Heian with the Kamakura shogunate closely following, belong other productions of the metal-caster, also of

great interest: the figures of Yakushi, Nikko, Gekko, and others, kept in the oldest temples of Kyôto; the Kamakura Daibutsu, well known the world over, which has the distinction of being not only accurately dated, but the maker's name of which is known with certainty to be Ono Goroyemon. The two great "Daibutsu" present peculiarities of interest to the metallurgist which were alluded to by the lecturer.

With the Ashikaga shogunate and the Hojo periods the bronze-working fell into a novel groove, to become more flourishing still during the 300 years of Tokugawa peace—namely, the furnishing of the sword; small work in comparison with that of the bell-maker, responsible for the largest bells in the world, bells without clappers, hung from large beams, struck by heavy rams, yielding a booming peal, deep as thunder, rich in harmonies, and unexcelled in the West. Yet all this represents but a small fraction of the metal-workers' purview. Sword-making involved iron and steel manufacture; the refining of gold, of silver, the winning of copper, of tin, and lead, were associated with the coinage of the country and the making of bronze wares, of temple vases, lanterns, etc. All these received rapid but expert treatment at the hands of the lecturer. The lecture will, when printed, form a large and valuable addition to the Society's transactions, and it will be well worth the year's subscription to secure it. As Mr. H. L. Joly pointed out at the issue of the lecture, Professor Gowland is not only a metallurgist and fully acquainted with the metallurgy of old Japan, as well as with that of the modern West, he was also one of the originators of Japanese archaeology. To him and to Neil Gordon Munro the Japanese antiquarian were beholden for methodical treatment of finds, although it may be added that Professor Gowland must have had a dousing-stick, for since his departure from the field of exploration in Japan, tumuli have yielded fewer specimens of the richer swords and trappings. There was no discussion, but hearty thanks were tendered to the lecturer. Sir

Hercules Read added some important comparisons and thoughts upon the evolution of art, East and West, under the influence of the religious sentiment. We fully endorse his opinion, and Japanese art is indeed the best proof of that influence, if proof were needed. From Shinto in its primitive form came no artistic impulses; early Buddhism was probably equally sterile; but the Buddhism of the Nara period, laden with ceremonial, to appeal to the emotions, brought with the paraphernalia and ritual of the cult the accessories and figures evolved during some ten centuries in the mainland of Asia, and art in Japan was born, *from Chinese renderings of Indian art and ideals*. Happily the iconoclastic rage which destroyed so much of Byzantine Christian art and of medieval "Catholic" art in the wake of Protestantism had but little parallel in Japan, where toleration in religious matters is almost perfect: especially were bronze or metal art objects free from destruction, except from fire, and much has survived which deserves earnest study.

The lecture was illustrated with a large number of slides, photographs of bronzes, and large wall diagrams of metallurgical operations.

SHOSANKEN.

ARMENIA'S TERRIBLE INTERESTS AND SYMPATHIES IN THE GREAT WAR

E. R. SCOTT-HERD

ARMENIA AND BELGIUM: A PARALLEL CASE.

THESE two countries, so widely separated from each other by their past history and geographical position—the one in Asia, the other in Europe—would, at first sight, seem to have nothing in common, and formerly no one would have dreamed of connecting them. Now, since the European War, their fate has become so similar that it is almost as common for those who are acquainted with its history to speak of Armenia as “the Belgium of Asia” as it is for the world to characterize the Germans as “the Turks of Europe.”

Humanity is proud of brave little Belgium's heroic stand against overwhelming odds. England, especially, is grateful to the gallant Belgians for having, by several weeks at least, checked the German advance, and all vie with each other in expressing, with the utmost generosity, their indebtedness to Belgium, well realizing that there are some debts that can never be repaid; while statesmen and peoples, platform and press, have borne ungrudging testimony to the services thus nobly rendered to the sacred cause of freedom. •

This is as it ought to be. Why, then, should there exist an apparent conspiracy of silence with regard to similar

services rendered by that martyr of the ages, Armenia, which, not for a few weeks, or months, or even years, but for centuries, bore unflinchingly the onslaughts of the barbarian hordes from Central Asia, standing as she did between them and the civilization of the Greeks?

Responsible ministers rarely deign to utter the name of Armenia. When a leading Statesman was speaking about the small nationalities, Armenia was not even mentioned. When he alluded to the famous cynical declaration of Bismarck that the Armenian question was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier, in the report of his speech the word "Armenian" was changed into "Bulgarian."

And the press follows the platform. Rarely does one come across articles, much less leaders, dealing with this crying question, for it was as vanguards of civilization that the Armenians received the first staggering blow, acting for ages as a barrier that held back the devastating hordes of Asiatic barbarians, and keeping the torch of civilization ever burning with much of pristine religious purity. Small wonder that eventually they broke down, and that Armenia herself became the victim, but for whose age-long sufferings the ethnological and religious problems of Europe might have proved vastly more complicated even than we find them to-day.

But there is little need of referring to the past history of Armenia; for turning to our own day and the present war, we find her still to the fore in contributing her contingent to the forces of civilization. The Eastern theatre of the Turkish war is that same Armenian soil, soaked with blood for centuries, while Europe looked on with the passivity bred of indifference to all but vested interests and diplomatic juggling—a passivity for which it is not impossible that a Nemesis in Europe is to-day enforcing righteous retribution.

It must not be imagined that the Turk and the Kurd were more merciful than were "the Turks of the West" in

Belgium. And at this moment Armenia is laid waste, women and children are carried away, and the men who have not made good their escape are slaughtered, or dragged into the Turkish army, or driven out of the country, so that a hundred thousand refugees are to be found in Tiflis and the neighbourhood hopelessly destitute.

II

WHAT ARMENIA IS DOING FOR THE ALLIES

Armenia deserves more sympathy and consideration than she is receiving, not only as a theatre of Turkish cruelty and devastation, but also because the Armenians, as a nation, are taking an active part on the side of the Allies in the present war, and are fighting, not only against the Turks in the East, but also against the Turks of the West.

There are actually some 80,000 Armenians in the ranks of the Russian army in Poland, and 40,000 in that of the Caucasus. There are besides these about 10,000 Armenian volunteers fighting in conjunction with the Russian army in Asia Minor. Other Armenians are flocking from all over the world with the set purpose of driving from their country the unregenerate Turks who have so long defaced that fair and otherwise fertile land.

The whole burden of the equipment and upkeep of this volunteer army falls upon the Armenian community, which hopes to increase its numbers to 25,000 in the spring and early summer. To this heavy expenditure must be added the maintenance of the refugees at a cost of £15,000 per month. But the Armenians are gladly making these colossal sacrifices, cheered as they are by the growing conviction that the hour of their deliverance is drawing nearer and nearer. Nevertheless, they are keenly disappointed at what seems like a conspiracy of silence, especially on the part of England, who formerly took so much interest in Armenia on account of the important rôle hitherto played by her in the Eastern Question. And it must be conceded that England,

in her attempts to bolster up Turkey, has almost always sacrificed Armenia to Turkish interests on the plea that by the *Cyprus Convention* of 1878 Armenia would also come in for her share of the benefits brought about by Turkish reform. Yet Cyprus, England's pledge on behalf of Armenia, was annexed, while all recognition of the debt due to Armenia was ignored, and continues to be so ignored even down to the present moment.

England and the Allies are fighting nobly and heroically in support of the inviolability of treaties, and it can scarcely need pointing out that the essential sacredness of treaties and promises is not lessened because they happen to relate to Armenia instead of to Belgium. Hitherto England's task with regard to Armenia has been complicated by the desire to preserve the friendship of Turkey and the goodwill of Russia. To have done justice to Armenia might have necessitated going to war on her behalf, which Armenia would neither have expected nor desired. But since Turkey has entered the European conflict, all these factors have changed, and England has now the opportunity, which has never before presented itself, of insuring full, if tardy, justice to long-suffering Armenia, by furthering, to the best of her capacity, all that country's righteous and legitimate aspirations. Nor need she fear to be thwarted in this direction by Russia, while Germany, it is to be hoped, will soon be powerless to veto any just demands made by the Powers for themselves or for others.

III

WHAT THE ALLIES MUST DO FOR ARMENIA

What, then, can England and her Allies do for Armenia? What does Armenia herself desire? An appeal to the leading Armenians in London has elicited this unanimous statement. They all agree in the belief that the only permanent solution of the Armenian question lies in the granting of some form of Home Rule, some form of autonomy to Armenia, either under the guarantee of the Powers, or of

the Entente Powers, or of one of them. And they plead for this, not only for themselves, but for the country, for Armenia, as whoever lives in Armenia will benefit equally, irrespective of race or of religion. It goes without saying that the most numerous race, and the one most apt for civilization, will benefit most, and at present these advantages lie with the Armenians. But except for this natural outcome of the numerical and intellectual differences of the races, they desire nothing in the shape of special privileges, nothing in which all the inhabitants of the country shall not equally participate. Below is given a table of the comparative numbers of the various races composing the population of the six *vilayets* or provinces of Turkish Armenia, for which reforms were demanded last year. These statistics were compiled recently by the Armenian Patriarchate at Constantinople.

		Population	Per Cent.
Turks	...	606,000	25.4
Kurds	...	434,000	16.3
Other Mussulman Races	...	88,000	3.4
Armenians	...	1,913,000	38.9
Other Christian Races	{ Nestorian, etc.	12,000	4.8
165,000	{ Greeks, etc.	42,000	1.6
Other Religions,	{ Kizilbaches	149,000	5.3
254,000	{ Zazas, etc.	77,000	2.9
	{ Yazidis	37,000	0.4
		2,615,000	100

The above figures show that the Armenians are by far the most numerous of the races inhabiting the country. Besides this, the Turks, following their usual custom, will emigrate in large numbers, as they always do from territory which passes out of their hands. The Kurds, also, with their innate hatred of any sort of control, will make a great exodus, probably towards Persia, while Armenians will return from all parts of the world, and will thus still further increase the Armenian majority. And is not this a consummation devoutly to be desired by all lovers of justice and humanity? This land belonged to the Armenian people six or seven centuries before the Christian era. It is strewn with remains of Armenian civilization and culture

--mountains and rivers, towns and villages, still bearing Armenian names and traces, while the Turks and Kurds cannot show a vestige of any work productive of least benefit to the country.

The question, however, may be asked: "Why have we this sudden demand for autonomy? The Armenians last year issued a pamphlet in which it was definitely stated that autonomy or independence was not asked for. The sole demand made was for some "reasonable security for life, honour, and property." The answer to this query is clear and cogent.

Armenia has always been too much the patient Griselda among the nations. She has ever contented herself with the *minimum* in her demands, and has never been accorded anything within measureable distance of that *minimum*. With a sweet reasonableness, which merited more consideration from the European Powers, she always recognized the obstacles in their path, and hence the moderation of her requests. Now, circumstances have changed radically, and the insuperable difficulties of the past promise speedily to disappear. Last year the Powers had to face the Turkish Government, backed by Germany. Now, both will probably soon cease to be factors wherewith to reckon, and Russia will offer no objection to the granting of autonomy to Armenia. She is already helping the Armenians, and the Russian Government is credited with entertaining the same intention towards Armenia as towards Poland--namely, that of endowing both with some form of self-government. Surely, now, when the time comes, England will rise to the occasion and take the initiative in securing a permanent arrangement by which Armenia shall be insured a free and prosperous future. Thus alone can England, in some measure, make atonement for her acquiescence in the unutterable miseries and wrongs inflicted upon a martyred people--an acquiescence mainly due to a desire to retain the friendship of their Turkish tormentors, and which has signally failed to secure even this questionable advantage.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

"THE BATTLE OF THE GAUGES IN INDIA"

The following letter has been handed to us for publication by Sir Guilford Molesworth:

DEAR SIR,

I have been very much interested in reading your paper entitled "The Battle of the Gauges in India," published in the *Asiatic Review*. There is, of course, little to be added to what you say, but there were some statements made in the discussion regarding the change of gauge of the railroads in the United States which are somewhat misleading, and apparently based on a misapprehension of what was actually done.

The question of the change of gauge of the railways in the United States came up long before 1885, and considerable work was done on the northern roads previously to that time.

Yours very truly,

F. LAVIS.

PART OF REPORT ON CHANGE OF GAUGE OF THE RAILWAYS
IN THE UNITED STATES. BY GEORGE L. FOWLER

This change of gauge was usually a matter of years. It was found that to change a narrow gauge locomotive to the standard gauge did not give satisfactory results. The fire-box of the small locomotive could not compete in the economy or consumption of fuel with the larger locomotives, and after a few trials of this sort the work was abandoned.

The actual change of gauge was accomplished gradually. A third rail was laid to standard gauge, all new rolling stock bought was of that gauge, and the small locomotives were worn out, or when the greater portion of the rolling stock had become of standard gauge they were sold to contractors or scrapped. The time required for this transition depended upon the size of the road and the traffic. For larger roads it was longer. For example, the first third rail on the Denver and Rio Grande was laid in 1881, and there is still a considerable mileage of the 3 feet gauge.

In like manner the narrowing of the broad gauges to the standard took time. Where the change was made from a 5 feet to the 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inch gauge, the work was simple, as the difference was but $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and locomotives could be changed by merely slipping their tyres on the centres, and the change was frequently made in a single day. But where the change was made from a 6 feet gauge, a third rail was laid, and there was a long period of transition, during which trains of both gauges and composite trains made up of cars of both gauges were run. In the case of the Erie this transition period lasted for about twelve years. In this the locomotives had to be converted, and that at a cost of about 3,500 dollars each.

It is because of this gradual change of gauge that it is impossible to give any data regarding the cost. A third rail was laid, longer tyres were substituted as the old short ones wore out or decayed, cuts and fills were widened a little at a time, extra ballast was put under the ties, broad gauge rolling stock was bought and used; the narrow gauge cars and locomotives were worn out, scrapped, or sold, and the whole change is so interwoven in the regular maintenance and operating expenses of the road that it is quite out of the question to separate and differentiate them.

INDIA AND THE WAR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

It is impossible to exaggerate the mischief that is being caused by measures of reactionary policy towards India at the present moment.

On the 16th of March the House of Lords vetoed the proposal of the Government of India to constitute an

Executive Council for the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Two days later the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi passed a Bill authorizing, with certain limitations, the summary trial of political suspects by an especially constituted court and without right of appeal.

It may at once be conceded that both these measures are controversial, in the sense that educated India and the bureaucracy hold different opinions about them.

The Delhi Bill was distinctly a repressive measure. At any other time it would have raised a storm of protest. Lord Hardinge acknowledged its controversial nature, but pressed for the passage of the Bill on the ground that the Government had sufficient reasons to make the measure an absolute necessity for the present time. He did not even mention these reasons. Surely it was within the rights of any member of the Council to ask for those reasons; but what happened? Conscious of the grave and critical times through which the Empire is passing, determined not to embarrass the Government in any way whatsoever, not a single Indian member opposed the Bill. A few mild amendments were indeed suggested, but eventually the Bill was passed without one dissentient voice.

The proposal before the House of Lords was a progressive measure. After years of agitation the United Provinces had succeeded in convincing the Government of India of their need for an Executive Council. The Viceroy had given his assent, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the province concerned, his support. Precedents for the measure had been established by the Executive Councils of the last Government of Bengal and the present Government of Behar and Orissa. And yet the House of Lords, on the ground of its being controversial and unnecessary, thought it right and fair to reject the Bill.

Let it be admitted that Executive Councils, as at present constituted, are not of any overwhelming importance to

India; indeed, many Indians think that, with their present restrictions and limitations, none of the expanded Legislative Councils are serious experiments towards representative government in India. Only as preparatory measures are they of any value.

Is it not all the more unfortunate that, in a small matter like this, the House of Lords should have not only overruled the expressed opinion of the Government of India, but flouted—there is no other word for it—the educated public opinion of the country? Oblivious of larger Imperial interests, these noble Lords fought tooth and nail to maintain their bureaucratic tradition of one-man rule in the United Provinces. They have succeeded; but have they counted the cost? Do they realize the effect on Indian opinion of this snub to the United Provinces? Can they prevent the Indians comparing the loyal self-restraint of their own members in the Imperial Council during the debate on the Defence of India Bill with the almost vindictive attitude of the ex-potentates of India in the House of Lords?

We hope the British public will note this difference in the attitude displayed by the Indians on the one hand and the House of Lords on the other, and will attribute this difference to the larger Empire—loyalty and greater faith in the British democracy on the part of their Indian fellow-citizens.

The fear is that the Indian public itself may not draw the same conclusion, and may attribute it to their restraint being misunderstood for impotent submission, and to a disregard on the part of England for them and their country.

It is fortunate that the Government here have realized the situation, and have promptly expressed their intention of seeing the Bill through as soon as the war is over.

Yours truly,

D. N. S.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE Hospitality Committee, which exists to bring East and West together in this country, achieved a notable success on March 12, when, by kind invitation of Earl and Countess Brassey, a large company gathered at 24, Park Lane. East and West met under ideal conditions as to *locality*. The treasures of the museum and the beautiful Indian carving gave an Oriental setting to the scene which was warmly appreciated, and the continuous hum of conversation showed that East and West found much of mutual interest. The guests were received by Countess Brassey and Lord Haldane, President of the Hospitality Committee. Sir Frederick Robertson, Chairman, and Lady Robertson personified the aims of the Committee. A special attraction was an address on the war by Professor Gilbert Murray, of Oxford. Lord Haldane introduced him as one of the most brilliant scholars of the day, and one who has a high sense of the great ideals which should exist between States. Speaking of India's part in the war, Lord Haldane said that unseen bonds, not of steel but of silk, of gossamer lightness, yet more binding than the firmest iron rivet, were drawing Briton and Indian together by the realization of their common interests and common cause, and would carry great consequences in their train. "I feel that victory attends our arms, and it will be a victory not for one country but for the Empire." Professor Murray's address, intended specially for the Indian students in his audience, was marked by an arresting sequence of thought, a fairness of outlook, an appreciation of difficulties, and a confident belief that East and West would give of their best to each other. It was expressed with a charm of diction and manner that was irresistible. Britain, he considered, had not failed India in time of need, and India in the present crisis, instead of causing embarrassment, had poured out her treasure to help Britain in a way which would pass into history. "We fully expect to win this war. British and Indian regiments are fighting side by side." Speaking of the future—the future of coming generations, "when you and I are comfortably in our graves"—Professor Murray asked: Will our Empire grow into a Commonwealth, the greatest community of free men and women the world has ever seen; or will it stereotype itself as one more on the list of despotic empires which have crumbled into dust—Babylon, Egypt, Rome? He recognized that

two utterly different civilizations, once near together, but afterwards separated, have to solve the problem. If it were only a question of the thinkers, the solution would not be so difficult, because there would be mutual understanding of the other's point of view; but behind the thinkers lie the mass of the people who do not reach the ideals of either civilization. True development lies in levelling them up, and as this is done they will grow in understanding; the more stupid and ignorant prejudices will dwindle. In religion, as in civilization, there needs forbearance and active mutual appreciation. "I expect Christianity to be improved by contact with other religions, and other religions to gain by contact with Christianity." A parting word of advice, founded on the "Dharmavada" was: Do not lose yourselves in reverie while others are fighting. Always remember the greater Mother, whose children we all are, and to whom, in the greater Commonwealth, we may all bring our separate gifts in the service of humanity.

The Memorial Meeting in London, on March 8, to pay tribute to the memory of Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, brought together to the Cavendish Hall a representative meeting of East and West. Lord Reay presided, with, as Mr. T. J. Bennett pointed out, a special fitness, for it was Lord Reay who, as Governor of Bombay, set the excellent example of consulting informed Indian opinion and recognizing the value of the advice given. Lord Reay mentioned Ranade, Telang and Gokhale as three names representing the highest type of Indian statesmanship. He said that if India is to be well governed it is by the support and co-operation of such men that success will be attained. He spoke of the service rendered by Mr. Gokhale to Lord Morley in the reform scheme, of his long and devoted service in his own country, especially his efforts for free, compulsory, elementary education, and his Servants of India Society, which he described as "one of the most remarkable and interesting departures recently made in India." He expressed the strong hope that a biography of Mr. Gokhale may be published for the benefit not only of those who had the honour of his friendship, but for future generations, that they may know something of his personality and understand the great work he accomplished. The resolution, carried unanimously, was as follows:

"That this meeting desires to express its deep sense of the irreparable loss India has suffered by the untimely death of the Honourable Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, C.I.E., who had consecrated his life to the service of his country."

Another conveyed deep sympathy with Miss Gokhale in her bereavement. The speakers included Sir Krishna Gupta, the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Henry Cotton, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. T. J. Bennett, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. Syud Husain, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, and Mr. C. A. Latif. All the speeches were marked by most generous appreciation of the devoted work of Mr. Gokhale for his country and for the Empire, in the truest sense, with special reference to the South African

settlement, of his personal charm, his self-effacement, self-sacrifice, and unworldliness, his fairness towards those who held different views, and his great value as a link between East and West, understanding both and interpreting each to the other. Many Indian organizations in London and the country desired to be associated with the object of the meeting; memorial meetings have been held by the Indian orderlies on duty with the wounded Indian soldiers, and by Indian students in various centres in England and Scotland. Mr. Gokhale's loss is personal, national, and Imperial; he has passed out of sight, but his work remains, and who can tell the extent of his influence?

The dramatic performances organized by the Union of East and West, on behalf of the convalescent Indian soldiers in this country have been most heartily appreciated, and the cry is for more. The officers in charge of the different hospitals have sent urgent requests to Miss Clarissa Miles, founder and hon. secretary of the Union, for performances to be arranged, as they recognize that good service is best done in providing for the troops an entertainment which they can thoroughly enjoy. The first performance was given at Brighton in the theatre of the Palace Pier, kindly lent for the occasion. Ample accommodation was reserved for the Indian soldiers, orderlies, doctors, and officers, and in addition a large part of the house was open to the public. The response was so satisfactory that out of the profits it was found possible to take the entire company to New Milton, where there was only accommodation for the soldiers. Two performances, however, were given, and at least one thousand men were able to enjoy them. At Bournemouth, also, an afternoon and evening performance was demanded, and on the following day some of the artistes paid a visit to the men actually in hospital. The public again at Bournemouth testified to its appreciation of Indian drama and music, and the event aroused great interest in the neighbourhood. The *pièce de résistance* is "Savitri," adapted by Mr. K. N. Das Gupta from the "Mahabharata," and played principally by English actors. Miss Marga La Rubia, in the name part, plays with insight and power, having, as she herself confesses, fallen completely under the spell of the Oriental heroine. Professor Inayat Khan and his musicians delight the audience with solos and instrumental music; sometimes the professor gives a brief philosophical interlude; Pundit Shyam Shankar chants Sanskrit hymns; and Miss Victoria Drummond has made a successful *début* in symbolic Indian dances. A conjurer adds to the interest of the programme. The Union of East and West has brought new interest into touch with India: among its patrons are Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Herbert Tree, Sir Charles Wyndham, the Earl of Sandwich, Sir William Richmond, Sir Henry Roscoe, Lady Florence Duncombe, Lady Assheton Smith, and Mrs. Woodhull Martin.

The Oriental Matinée at the Shaftesbury Theatre, London, on February 19, on behalf of the Indian Soldiers' Fund, was a notable success. Every seat in the house was taken. Queen Alexandra not only

gave her patronage, but attended the performance, accompanied by the Princess Royal, Princess Victoria, and Princess Maud. The performance was organized by the Eastern League, with which the Oriental Circle of the Lyceum Club co-operates, and which has already sent out to the Indian troops at the Front many needed comforts, and also to the wounded men in hospital. The programme was both interesting and varied. Scenes from "Lalla Rookh" were arranged by Mrs. P. L. Roy and M. Edmund Dulac, from "The Bird of Time" by Miss Florence Parbury and Mrs. Amy Woodforde-Finden, and from the "Mahabharata" under the direction of Mrs. Roy. This was the most ambitious effort, and many dramatic incidents were given in tableau, while Miss Victoria Drummond, as the narrator, did splendid service. The Kuravas and the Pandavas appeared on the scene; Draupadi was a tragic figure; Karna and Arjuna displayed their prowess; and other outstanding characters in the story were represented. The colour scheme was good, but more boldness and "composition" in the grouping would have added to the impressiveness of this praiseworthy effort, carried out almost entirely by Indian ladies and gentlemen. Madame Muira, the Japanese prima donna, who is winning golden opinions in London, kindly sang Japanese and European songs, and added a different Oriental interest to the programme.

Professor T. W. Arnold's course of lectures on "Islam in India," delivered at University College, London, ended on March 16. He has dealt with the phenomena of the religious life and thought of the Indian Mussalmans from two main aspects—the characteristics of Islam which are common to India and the rest of the Muslim world, and the local peculiarities which are found in India only. An account of the various elements of the Muslim population and its social organization was followed by a survey of the various sects that are to be found in India. The last lecture was devoted to a study of modern reform movements and the theological position of advanced Muslim thinkers of the present day.

The proceedings of the East India Association and the meeting of the Japan Society are given in greater detail in this number.

In his lecture before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, on "The Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley," Captain Sir George Duff Dunbar gave a graphic description of the country, the people, their customs and folklore. There is no written language, so, to supply its lack, messages are sent in somewhat pointed fashion, such as stones, rice, chillies, or charcoal in baskets, and conveying protestations of friendship or declarations of defiance. Chillies and charcoal mean absolute defiance of mind, burning like charcoal and fiery as the accompanying chillies. A warning to cattle-thieves is conveyed by means of a "signboard" made of cane and bamboo. A stick represents the thief in miniature stocks, and slips of bamboo, representing arrows, indicate the feelings of the aggrieved owner of the stolen animals.

A. A. S.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

1. CHINESE CLAY FIGURES. Part I. Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armour. By Berthold Laufer. Being publication 177 of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

There can be but few people who have not seen or heard of the Chinese clay figures which are found in the graves of the T'ang period, and of which older specimens, dating from the Han dynasties, have been more recently unearthed. The study of these clay figures is full of interest, notwithstanding the recurrence of certain commoner types or subjects; for, besides exhibiting considerable artistic modelling skill, they afford us a glance into costume in some ways as important as the information preserved for us respecting household utensils by the grave furniture of the Han period. Indeed, glancing from China to Japan, the *hanima* are the only source of information we possess in regard of early Japanese costume and armour. It is consequently quite natural that Dr. Laufer should have selected Chinese clay figures as the basis of a disquisition on Chinese armour, of which the present volume represents the first instalment; and in this new work the author keeps up the high standard of profound scholarship, backed with cautious common-sense, displayed in his former publications. Dr. Laufer takes nothing for granted; his search for evidence is so thorough, so critical, that his footnotes are almost as informative as the body of the book. Indeed, the discussion of the original material used in the manufacture of the earliest armour recorded in China has led him to thresh out the history of the rhinoceros from the Eastern point of view. The Chou tradition says that armour was made with the hide of the *se* and the *si*. The identification of these animals by various sinologues has, up to Giles and Chavannes, been unsatisfactory, *se* being taken to be a kind of ox (or the Malayan rhinoceros), and *si* a rhinoceros.

Even in Giles's "Adversaria Sinica" this matter is discussed in a somewhat unsatisfactory manner, and Dr. Laufer has now devoted over a hundred

pages to the subject, with the following conclusion: the *si* was the two-horned rhinoceros, the *se* the single-horned rhinoceros. The argument is closely marshalled, and it seems probable that the conclusion is right. The author traces the earliest European drawing of the rhinoceros to Albert Durer's drawing of 1515, now in the British Museum, and apparently based upon a verbal description of the animal sent to Lisbon by d'Albuquerque; but, curiously enough, he does not record the variants of that drawing published by Aldovrandus de Quad in 1521, by Gessner, who claimed to have drawn his illustration from the live beast at Lisbon, and by Topsell, the English adapter of the *Book of four footed beasts*, in 1607, who looked upon the rhinoceros as a truly awful creature likely to endanger his own reputation as a truthful scribe.

The author quotes from the Japanese *Wakan san tsai zu*, and dismisses the Japanese compilations of the same period, which, although of rather late date, are evidently based upon Chinese publications. I may perhaps be allowed to fill that gap for the benefit of those who do not possess the *Todo Kimmo zu* of 1710, as the creatures figured and described therein are in some respects slightly different from those bearing the same name referred to by Dr. Laufer.

The *se* (Jap. *keri*) figured in the *Ech zu* has a smooth coat and a horn pointing backwards, whilst in *Todo Kimmo zu* the beast shown in a "butting" position is "shaped like an ox," has a curved horn, marked with transverse lines, pointing forward and downward, which is said to grow up to 3 feet. It is described as the female of the *sai* (*si*); it weighs 1,000 kin, and its skin is thick enough to be made into suits of armour (*yoroi*).

Of the *si* (Jap. *sai*) it is said that there are three kinds: one with *three* horns, called *san* (mountain) *ai*, another with *two* horns, the *su* (water) *sai*; and the third, *ikokoku*, single horned, "is a sacred animal which sometimes possesses a soul and can go to heaven." It dislikes its own appearance, and drinks muddy water in which its reflection is indistinct, and it carries a carapace (*fu*), jewel saddle on the back). It is shown running on the waves. In the *Saisho Bukuro* of Tachibana Morikuni the *si* (*sai*) is described as of two kinds, one with *three* horns on the head (top, middle, and nose), and another with *two* (top and nose), the water *sai*, which has a tortoise-like shell on the back, a boar's head, the body of an ox with a large belly, straight front legs with three hoofs.

A three-horned creature mentioned by Dr. Laufer (p. 105, *n.*) is figured in *Todo Kimmo zu* under the same name, *sankakushiu* (Chin. *sankioshou*): "It lives in the Seitetsusan. It is a sacred animal which appears only in peace time." But it is now shown as a hairy creature, with flames rising from the legs, and a stag's head decorated with two ox horns, between which springs a short horn. Finally, a goat with three horns (nasal, frontal, and between the ears), all turning forward, is shown as a produce of the *Koku-an* country (*Todo Kimmo zu*, 5, 3). The *kaigiu*, "sea-cow" (p. 148), is also shown here, but as a *hornless* animal with *webbed* feet "like those of a tortoise. It is 10 feet long, with a body of

purple colour, and a tail shaped like [the body of] a trout. When it sees a man, it hides in the sea." Clearly it is a variety of seal.

The unicorn with cervine body given in *Todo Kimmo zue* differs distinctly from the *si kio* (Laufer, p. 109), inasmuch as it is a stag with a *single* bifurcated horn called *chohatsu*. It looks like a deer with a long tail like that of a horse. Generally it has only one horn, and it is called *tenroku*, but there is another kind which has *two horns*, and named *juhatsu* or *hekiya*. Further, the *kakutansha*, described as "a sacred animal, which appears in time of peace, and was seen during the Gen (Yuan) dynasty," is figured as an animal with the body of a deer, long hair and tail, and four cat-claws on each foot, the single horn being on the top of the skull. But in neither of the above descriptions is there any hint at a connection with the *Ekagringer* (*ikhasa*) of Indian legend, the *ikkaku* "semin" of the No, identified with the single horn rhinoceros.

With regard to the *se zue*, I find among my papers a note, unfortunately without indication of origin, referring to Nepaul goats or sheep with both horns reduced to one by natural growth, which might explain the tradition about unicorn goats (p. 134).

The horned lion (*shakushi*, cf. *shu zue*, p. 115, 116 *ss.*), is sketched in *Todo Kimmo zue* much more distinctly than in the *Hakan san tsai zue* (especially the modern reduced reprint), but the glaze is practically identical in both. "In Tobozan there lives a *houzei* (or *hukuhaku*) which speaks a human language. It only appears in peaceful reigns under good princes. When Shin no Kotei went hunting, he met one near the Eastern sea, and the animal gave him information which averted disaster." But this horned lion is only a late variant of the horned *koma zue*.

The *Todo Kimmo zue* (2, 1) figures a bronze Rhyton [s.v. *hai* (*per*)] slightly different from Fig. 23, said to contain 3 measures (*go*) of wine (= 1 pint), and also a smaller one made from the horn of the *yagiu* (field cattle) or of the *se* (*shu*, *su*), the point of which is carved in the shape of a dragon's head, but no indication is given as to its size. It is called *kwō*, used for *batsushake* (modern *bappa*, foetus drink), and the weight of it is 3 *kin*. It is of blue colour. I have seen a bronze cup of Ming workmanship, dated Chiaching, the capacity of which is 110 cubic centimetres, rather smaller than the *hai* referred to above, bearing an inscription and the name *se kio* or *sakazuki* inlaid on it (as on p. 169).

Chapters II. to VII. deal with archaic Chinese armour made of various thicknesses of hide sewn together: Han armour, chain and ring mail; plate armour (as differentiated from sheet armour): Tang suits and horse armour in relation to clay figures of horses. To review those pages at length would take more space than is afforded me. Let it be said that they should be read carefully and repeatedly, for they teem with knowledge. With regard to Japanese ancient armour, reference should be made to the pieces found in the Misasagi of Nintoku Tenno: and the dates given by Dr. Bashford Dean are somewhat conservative, taking into consideration the nature of the swords used in the seventh to the ninth centuries in Japan, besides the evidence of pieces of armour made of riveted strips,

now in the Tokyo Museum, and some of which have been illustrated by Munro; and, further, because the lavish ornamentation and accurate workmanship of the suits attributed to Yoshitsuné, to Masashige, etc., are proofs of a far greater development of the armour-smith's art in the Heian period than one would be led to infer from Dr. Dean's statements. The question as to whether Japan had a distinct Bronze Age or not is still open to discussion.

Curiously, the author makes no reference to the small plates of lacquered leather found by Stein in Turkestan (*Cathay*), nor to the Iban coat of fish-scales figured by Hose and McDougall (*Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, c. 1854). It would be interesting to know whether in the coin-covered coat (Plate XIII.) there is any attempt at rhyming charms or other magical arrangement of the coins.

The author's reference to the Vikings' mail shirts (*byrnir*), being a mere quotation of Dr. Dean's pamphlet of 1905, seems to imply that the Norsemen had none before the eighth century, whereas there were "superb coats of mail" in the Thorsbjerg bog-find ascribable to the second century (see Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*), and, indeed, some of these were partly plated with gold.

The absence of Chinese characters in the found available at Chicago is rather an irksome feature (although a Chinese toment is not a very expensive item); it is got over by reference numbers to Giles's dictionary, without any indication of the edition (I. or II.), as in the author's valuable book on "Jade" and his notes on "Turquois."

This book is, like all publications of the Field Museum, lavishly illustrated, with no less, in this case, than sixty-four plates and fifty-five text illustrations, and we look eagerly forward to the publication of further instalments. —H. L. F.

2. CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT SARNATH. By Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., with an introduction by Dr. J. R. Vogel, Ph.D. (Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1914.) Square 8vo., 328 pp., map, 29 plates in half-tone. Price Rs. 3.12 = 58. 9d.

The ancient site of the deer park of Benares, now Sarnāth, has yielded to the iconoclastic builder and lime-burner a large portion of its buildings and sculpture, for more than a century, notwithstanding the interest taken in its archaeological exploration by Mackenzie (1815), Cunningham (1834-1836), Kittoe (1851-52), and more recently Oertel (1904), and Dr. Marshall (1907). Now, however, exploration and preservation are going on simultaneously, and the treasures recovered from the ground are preserved with care in a museum erected in 1910. The importance of the finds stored therein is shown in the learned introduction contributed by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey (Northern Circle), Dr. Vogel. The catalogue itself is comprehensive, the descriptions sufficiently detailed and completed by references to reports of the archaeological survey. The illustrations are numerous, and, with but few exceptions, where the photo-

mechanical department of the Roorkee College has had to struggle with hard contrasts or flat negatives, they form a welcome addition to our knowledge of early Buddhistic sculpture. --J.

3. THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA (FROM HINDU SOURCES). By Radhakumud Mookerji. (Publishers: *Longmans, Green and Co.*)

It is a reproach generally hurled at India by the controlling European forces --especially when India claims any rights or privileges as one country, as a nation -- that India is not a country but a continent, that it cannot claim to be a nation in the real sense of the word, for there is no national unity in India, neither geographical, nor natural, nor political. It is often said that India is only a habitation for a conglomeration of peoples of different races, different religions, different languages, and that the only claim it can have for national and political unity is from British rule.

In this admirable little book Mr. Mookerji has set forth very lucidly many proofs, derived from incontestable sources, of the unity of India, geographically and politically, as a nation. He has shown how in the religious ceremonies which all Hindus and Buddhists of any denomination pursue, an Indian, whether he be from the north or south, east or west, utters the same prayers to the holy rivers --not rivers of one part of India alone, but those flowing throughout the country. How the holy books are revered everywhere, and the language in which they are written revered as the mother tongue! How history gives many proofs still existing of a vast empire, covering the whole of India, as is seen by the monuments, and pillars, and inscriptions still to be found in various parts! The places of pilgrimage, too, which mark the farthest boundaries of India on all four points, are enjoined on all Hindus throughout India. These are only a few, and there are many other reasons which Mr. Mookerji adduces to prove his case, also showing the natural boundaries of the Himalayas on the north and the sea on the other side divide India from other countries, and also how the climatic conditions, such as rainfall, monsoons, etc., give an uniformity of character to the people, making them agricultural. He has treated the question of the geographical unity most fully in this book, and given many quotations from the original Sanscrit. L. SENECH.

4. FOOTFALLS OF INDIAN HISTORY. By Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble). (*Longmans and Co.*) Price 7s. 6d.

We have here a book written in full sympathy with the early religions of India, and with India itself as a cradle of the Buddhist faith. The writer has studied much and deeply, and her appreciation of Indian ideals and religious art is pleasing to read. As a pilgrim she has visited the cities of Buddhism, and reconstructs the influence of the Master in ancient Rajgir and Behar, following his footsteps. She gives an interesting disquisition

on Indian art in connection with the ancient Abbey of Ajanta, and with some success refutes those who think that all artistic impulses reached India through Persia or Greece. We are treated to a chapter on the synthesis of Hinduism, illustrated by the sculptures (especially the *Trimurti*) in the caves of Elephanta, and one on the schism of Buddhism into the *mahayana* and *hinayana*. There is also a sympathetic notice of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, and several in connection with old Brahmanical lore. Although a little esoteric, the book will be read with both interest and profit. Not the least interesting part is the series of illustrations. Views of the wonderful cave monasteries and temples of Ajanta, Karli, and Elephanta, with their decorations, are given, and the evolution of the figures of Buddha. We are also treated to six coloured plates of Buddhist religious scenes from water-colours by Gaganendra and Abanindra, Nath Tagore and Nanda Lal Bose, which are interesting both as belonging to the new school of Indian painting and as being themselves of real merit.

A. FRANCIS STEVART.

5. HINTS FOR RESIDENTS AND TRAVELLERS IN PERSIA. By A. R. Neligan, M.D., M.R.C.S., etc. With map, etc. (London: John Bae Danielsson and Co.) Price 3s.

Handy guide book to Persia, with full practical information and advice, the soundness of which is warranted by the long experience of Dr. Neligan, who resided in Tehran as medical officer to the British legation. Much of the medical advice, and, indeed, also of the general hints, are applicable to other places in the East. Those anxious to obtain information relating to history, architecture, pottery, illuminated manuscripts must not expect to find any here, but they will find a few crisp notes on carpets and an exhaustive treatment of motor cars in a rough land.

6. THE PRESS AND POLITY OF MODERN PERSIA. By F. G. Browne. (Cambridge University Press.)

Mr. Browne modestly describes his latest contribution on Persia as partly compilation and partly translation. It is the critic's pleasant duty to point out that, though literally true, this description does poor justice to the value and interest of the volume under review. The first part of the book consists of an exhaustive list of Persian newspapers, with explanatory footnotes, and an account of other such recent Persian pamphlets and books as have conduced to modernize old Iran. It will be an eye-opener to those whose knowledge of the Persian Press is derived from the very occasional and often disparaging notices in the newspapers of this country.

It is the second part of the book, however, which is by far the more interesting. It contains very happy selections from modern Persian poetry. The originals are given, as well as exceedingly good translations of them. Much better than any descriptive work on Persia do these "ghazals" and "masnavees"—genuine expressions of the national soul—afford

glimpses of the hopes and struggles, the aspirations and endeavours, of the newly awakened Persians. It is, indeed, difficult for the Englishman, brought up in Imperial traditions, to fully appreciate the depth of feeling pervading some of the verses of Ashraf, Fakir, and others; but if he can only muster imagination enough to put himself in the position of one belonging to any of the newly awakened races of the East, he will find genuine poetry in these verses — “true mirrors of contemporary thought and sentiment.” It is needless to mention that Mr. Browne’s book will be read with unmixed delight by the hundreds of thousands of other men and women in the East surviving and struggling as those in Persia. It only remains to add that the get-up of the book, and the illustrations in it, leave nothing to be desired.

D. N. SINGH.

7. A MAHARANI ON THE WAR.

Under the style of “British and Hindi Vikram,” the Maharani Nandkuberba, etc., has started, with the co-operation of her husband, the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, a Gujarati weekly journal with the object of placing before the subjects of that territory the true causes of the war, and an accurate account of the progress of the operations week by week. Since its commencement at the beginning of last December, about twelve numbers have been issued, and it has been distributed at their Highness’s expense throughout all the Gujarati schools and among the numerous communities, even outside the limits of the State, whose mother-tongue is Gujarati. It has eminently served the purpose of spreading among all those peoples, who also include a very large number of Muhammadans, the truth about the origin of the war as well of the achievement of the British and Allied forces, and of the Indian troops, thus imparting the necessary instruction and making ineffective certain attempts at misrepresentation among large classes of our Indian subjects. In recent issues the journal has given portraits, the last number containing a well-executed likeness of the King-Emperor with apt descriptions; and there are also numerous passages containing exhortations to the readers about the duty that lies upon them at this juncture, which are calculated to stimulate the enrolment of recruits. It is altogether a well-conceived contribution on the part of the enlightened Maharani to the other evidences which the British nation has received of the whole-hearted devotion of the Princes of India to the Crown of England at this time of the Empire’s trouble.

RECENT FICTION

8. DELIA BLANCHFLOWER. By Mrs. Humphry Ward (London: *Ward, Lock and Co.* Price 6s. net.

It is significant that the Anti-Suffrage movement owes its birth to the militant suffragettes. If I remember rightly, the maidenly aversion which its inceptors felt at so immodest a descent from the dignity of years of

silent disapproval of the Suffrage propaganda to the publicity of organized protest was, on their own admission, only conquered by their sudden apprehension of the real gravity of the situation. 'The Armada was in sight!—and the Empire in peril from such Daughters of Revolt!

The Anti's hitherto impassive pulses fluttered imperially; then, as true British matrons, they took immediate action. Mrs. Humphry Ward, the Drake of that momentous undertaking, without hesitation left her skittles and wrote to *The Times*. The crisis being now temporarily suspended, she has resumed her wonted pastime, bearing with her as trophy of the unfortunate interruption, a plot! And how unmistakably a plot it is. How strikingly 'it speaks to all novelists who lack imagination of the inestimable advantage of identifying themselves with some really popular, or even unpopular, movement, that the bread they have thus precipitately cast upon the waters may return to them after not so many days, and perhaps—who knows?—excellently buttered!

But the Suffrage is, after all, no jesting matter. Nor does it appear to be exactly a matter for fiction: at least, its issues are evaded in "*Delia Blanchflower*." The question, or as Mrs. Humphry Ward calls it, "the riddle of a changing time," is presented to us as a choice between two alternatives, acquiescence in the existing state of things—an acquiescence, it is true, accompanied by a pious belief that there may be "further stages onwards and upwards," if things are only permitted to take their own course—or incendiarism with the Daughters of Revolt.

Hardly are what Mrs. Ward herself describes as the "broad, arguable aspects of the subject" touched upon, and those characters in the book who do believe in the women's claim, yet who are not inflamed by militancy, apparently only differ from those who are content to let things slide, or from those who sit on the fence because they think "the vote will go so little way," in that suffrage opinions are attributed to them. Mrs. Ward could have better shown the irrationality or militancy, supposing that to have been her aim, had she contrasted it with the rationality of the constitutional Suffrage movement, had she shown that in the actual world there was less to justify its impetuous outburst than her book displays. But to have done that she would have been forced to a more complete and impartial review of the Anti-Suffrage forces. For "*Delia Blanchflower*" is not only partial in its treatment of the Suffrage movement, it is equally partial as regards the Anti-Suffrage movement. The latter's ranks contain more Mrs. Andrews, with their incessant refrain of "If women only knew where their real power lies!" than Mrs. Humphry Ward's. And it is the opinions of people like Mrs. Andrews, of whom Mrs. Ward permits her hero to say: "She's enough to make anyone militant. If I hear her quote 'the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world' once more, I shall have to smite her," which have in them as much irrationality as, if not more than, militancy, and which, moreover, make us less disposed than Mrs. Ward would have us be to leave the "riddle of a changing time" in the hands of an impotent destiny.—I. C. W.

9. THE YOUNG MAN ABSALOM. By E. Charles Vivian. (*Chapman and Hall*.)

Oh the simple skill of Mr. Vivian! How ingeniously he has poured the new wine of twentieth-century incident into the old-fashioned plot! How craftily he has dressed the old puppets in the latest fashion, and displayed them in the perfect feuilleton! How smart their conversation is, and how typically they embroil themselves in the plot of "The Young Man Absalom"! (The relevance of this title, by the way, is not apparent until the last page.)

There is, first of all, Philip Crayford, the senior partner of "Crayford's," engineering works at Bennington, a cramped industrial town living beneath the pall of the works' chimneys — which pall is most important as a symbol of Bennington's moral and physical healthlessness and squalor — and deriving its insufficient livelihood from the works. Crayford senior is a typical conservative man of business, well meaning, but opposed on principle to "Socialism" and to making any concessions to what he labels "industrial unrest." In this policy he is ably led by his partner and manager, Kennard, a hard business man and a coercionist who sticks at no repressive measures against strikers. Except for the redeeming feature of his attachment and loyalty to his chief, he is not at all a nice character, having sinister relations with his typist, who wears the seal of his possession in the shape of a diamond brooch in office hours. (Typist readers, take warning of this incaution!)

There is Ainsie Kennard, his wife, an ardent humanitarian and social worker in Bennington, indifferent to her husband, whom she had married to assist her needy parents, and aware of the typist, which awareness enabled her to go her own charitable ways in defiance of her husband's views. She possesses also a flippant wit, such wit as flips in feuilletons, and this, added to her humanitarian sympathies, make her the friend and ally of Dr. Faulkner, the ironic, quixotic, blear-eyed, and fierce fighter on behalf of the disease-scourged slum dwellers in Bennington. A great Dane and a masterly command of Beethoven's "Adieu," accompanied by dramatic insight of the occasions demanding its performance, complete her equipment.

The young man Absalom is Paul Grayford, the son and heir of "Crayford's," who, in his three years at Cambridge, has sounded all the depths and shoals of "Socialism, Webbism, Utopian dreams," and remedies against the "waste, muddle, mean aims, a hidebound autocracy, and things crawling in gutters, under that perpetual smoke-cloud" (Paul was standing on Windmill Hill, a romantic eminence overlooking the town, and he "indicated" the before-mentioned smoke pall as he said this), and had risen to a conception of social regeneration of the inchoate muddle which I must really ask you to read for yourselves (pp. 17-27), because the difference between it and the other "isms" from which he had risen is not quite clear in my mind. Also these revealing pages will introduce you to Joan Altrington, Lord Carnton's niece, who would have married Paul if only the claims and obligations imposed upon her by being Lord Carnton's niece hadn't made her principles inevitably alien to his aims. So that

when she realized the practical outcome of the Windmill Hill conversation, (no one could blame her for not taking it all in at the time — I left me, as I say, uncertain) she parted from him to the melody of Offenbach's "Barcarolle," which a barrel organ, "somewhere away behind them" (the usual place, I think, for barrel-organs in fiction) was playing, and returned to aristocratic and Carnton virginity, ever brooding on a certain halcyon day Paul and she had once spent in the country together when their spirits had mingled, though personally I thought this a very poor instance of spirit-fusion.

I don't think there is anyone else very important in the Synopsis. Oh yes! there's Lee, the Socialist workman at "Clayford's," who, with Faulkner and Mrs. Kennaird, pour real live blood-hot stuff and conviction into this otherwise rather bloodless young man, and between them, their grim facts and statistics and enthusiasm turn him into "The Master," as he grew to be called by his grateful workmen, who stripped himself of betrothed, home, and parent, and led his men through strike and distress, intensified by measles, up to the fatal finale which enables the author to put down his plotting pen.

It sounds much more exciting than it really is. It's really rather boring. I think perhaps Mr. Vivian has been or rather too much of a hurry to get the full melodramatic touch. He has relied too much on the reader's contribution to the general impression when the well-known types appear. That is all very well when the well-known types appear in the well-known circumstances, but when the well-known circumstances are not immediately recognizable in their up-to-date disguise, the reader is naturally less generous. I am not in the least convinced of either Paul's or Joan's ardent passion for each other, and, as I have remarked, their day together, memory of which was always overwhelming them so poignantly, struck me as singularly vacant. Also, I am suspicious of the spontaneity of people into whose minds apt quotations are always running either to clarify their reflections or to spur them to action. Paul was always vaguely remembering a quotation or a text, and waiting for it to direct or correct his impotence, always hobbling on the crutches of other people's high metaphor or windy platitude.

"Qualified the laconism" (p. 122) seems a little out of place in describing a conversation in a public-house, but, of course, it is an impressive phrase.

10. HUNGERHEART: THE STORY OF A SOUL. (*Methuen and Co.*) 6s. net.

As I finished reading "Hungerheart" there came into my mind the lines in Abt Vogler where "the passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky" is given a place in the music which the lover and the bard send up to God. However differently the "brotherly mind," invoked in the quotation on the flyleaf of the book, conceives of the reality and goal of its strivings, however much or little it recognizes the unreal quality even of its ideals and of the temple which human hands have built for

their enthronement, it will not, I think, be deaf to the melody of this very sincere and faithful oblation.

"Hungerheart" is the story, from earliest memory onward, of one whose aspirations towards completeness, towards something imperishable, articulated themselves in "a burning desire to love, to be the active one who gave, who held the world's record for giving. To be content to receive, to be passive, to be the beloved, was not my aim. I saw myself always as the lover." Personally, I do not feel sure that this distinction between the active and the passive is a very actual one, or, at least, I feel that the writer's indictment of her own sex as those who desire only *to be* loved is not, except in the case of a Languishing minority, quite a just one. There is something positive, and in this sense active, in all emotional volition, and the "desire *to be* loved" does not, especially in these days, voyage unaccompanied by its active companion. The writer, I think, attributes too much singularity to herself in this respect. Nor is her declared singularity entirely borne out by her experiences of disillusionment, in which one element, at least, would seem sometimes to be the realization that human friendships are not indivisible, that she could never know a human relationship in which she was to be the "Only One" to the "Only Other." Moreover, "to love," without rather more explicit definition as to the essence of love than "Hungerheart" gives, does not necessarily connote the spiritual, nor does "immunity from love," in the sense in which that is usually understood, and in which I think the author meant it to be understood, stand by itself as another sufficient criterion.

Still, these defects, if I may use so harsh a word, are defects of expression and not of feeling. They arise, it is evident—and often very beautifully evident—from the writer's so intuitive and intense apprehension of the spiritual quality of her love that it transcends her expression and might in definition be degraded. Moreover, the final concept of the infinite and eternal object in which her soul finds perfect satisfaction and love and rest is one whose symbolism in some of the loveliest of its legends does not reject, but rehabilitates in more glorious vestments, the passionate finite experiences of imperfect human life.

I. C. W.

11. FRANK BRANDT, R.N.: A SHORT SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND SERVICES.
(To be obtained from the *East India Association*, 3, Victoria Street, S.W.)

The above contains reprints of obituary notices which have appeared in this *Review*, as well as in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *The Times*, the latter with additions by the well-known writer Stephen Reynolds.

LONDON THEATRES

His Majesty's Theatre—"David Copperfield."

Sir Herbert Tree's "David Copperfield" is pre-eminently an "older generation" production. Not many of the younger generation read Dickens; and to thoroughly understand and appreciate Tree's art in the interpretation of Micawber and Daniel Peggotty, it is necessary not only to have read and reread one's Dickens, but to have assimilated him to the extent of having established almost personal relationships with the men and women of his creation.

Judging from the lavish applause at the end of each act, the audience was mostly a Dickens audience. Only here and there could one detect any lack of enthusiasm, and these few looked very tired and very young. They have the critic's full sympathy, for these strangers to Dickens' land will never enjoy the play of "David Copperfield"; and to them it will always remain a curious, rather meaningless production, that begins like a play, proceeds like a review, and finishes like a melodrama.

The lover of Dickens, however, will thank Sir Herbert for having provided him with a veritable "reunion" of old and dearly loved friends. All criticism is banished in the joy of shaking hands with the companions of his youth, his disappointment or pleasure being in proportion to how changed or unchanged he finds these friends of his. It is by this standard alone that "David Copperfield" should be judged; and, applying this test, one must congratulate Sir Herbert Tree on the decided success of his latest piece. It is, of course, impossible for every person to realize in detail his own mental picture of Micawber, Peggotty, Uriah Heap, David Copperfield, Little Emily, Mrs. Micawber, and others; but Sir Herbert's success lies in the fact that all these good people are unaltered enough to make the pleasure of meeting them far outweigh any little disappointment due to some unfamiliar traits. Micawber has changed least of all. He is the same good old humbug, and with all his failings we love him still. Daniel Peggotty seems to have grown a little sentimental, otherwise he is as rugged and large hearted as ever.

Uriah Heap seems to have acquired just a shade of staginess, but no one can mistake him for anyone but his oily self. Copperfield himself has hardly changed. The ladies of the piece are as delightful as ever, and it is not too much to say that, taken altogether, "David Copperfield" will be remembered as one of the chief successes of Sir Herbert Tree.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

MAY 15, 1915

THE INDIAN ARMY, PAST AND PRESENT

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRKELL

THE employment of Indian troops on the European battle-field, foreshadowed by the policy of the great Lord Beaconsfield as long ago as 1878, has now actually come to pass. Masses of Asiatics and Africans are serving side by side with their European comrades in the contending armies on the various theatres of war, and before its conclusion the Tartar from Kazan may perhaps exchange salutations with his brother-Moslems from the fringe of the great Sahara or the banks of the Indus in the heart of Germany.

It is more than 100 years now since the first appearance of a very small body of Asiatic soldiers in the ranks of what was then the strongest and most victorious army in Europe. When Napoleon quitted Egypt he brought back with him to France 100 Mamelukes whom he formed into a squadron of his Consular, and afterwards of his Imperial Guard. They retained their Oriental dress and weapons, guarded their master in his palace, and escorted him to the field. They charged the Russian cavalry at Austerlitz, and accompanied Murat to Spain, where, as Musalmans, they excited the antipathy of the bigoted Spaniards, of whom they made a great slaughter on the day that Murat quelled the popular insurrection in Madrid. As casualties occurred among them, their ranks were refilled by Musalman Bosniaks and

Albanians recruited by the French authorities in Dalmatia. They accompanied Napoleon through his Russian campaign in 1812, and the remnant of them were on guard at the Tuileries when the Duke of Wellington visited Louis XVIII. in 1814.

The Czars of Russia have long had squadrons of Tartars and Circassians in their Imperial Guard, but these were kept for pomp and parade rather than for service. It is only lately that the conscription has been extended so as to include Musalmans in the Russian Army generally, and when it was first introduced, such numbers of Tartars emigrated from the Crimea to Turkey to escape military service, that the Russian authorities refused to permit any more emigration; many Tartars, however, contrived to evade the police and to escape from the country.

Nearly all the great Powers now have Asiatic or African troops in their service. France has long had her Algerian cavalry (Spahis) and infantry (Turcos), and is now drawing large supplies of negro or negroid *chair à canon* from Senegal and the Sudan. Italy has her Askaris recruited from the Arab tribes of the Red Sea littoral; even Austria has regiments of Bosniak Musalmans, who wear the fez instead of the shako as their military head-dress; but these men are of Slavonic nationality and of European descent. They are good fighters, having served a long apprenticeship to arms under the Turks, who classed them among their best soldiers.

India was the first Asiatic country in which European methods of drill and discipline were applied to the natives of the land. The French physician Bernier, who visited the Court of Aurangzib in the seventeenth century, observed that a few thousand disciplined men, commanded by a Condé or a Turenne, would soon put the myriads of the Mogul Emperor's multitudinous army to rout; and it was the Frenchmen Dupleix and Bussy who first made the experiment of forming Indian soldiers on a European model. Their experiment proved a success, and it was still more

successfully imitated by their English rivals. It was made in Southern India, and it was never supposed that the sepoys who were the subjects of it ever would or could face European soldiers in the field. In the battles in the Carnatic the French and English battalions were arrayed against each other, while the sepoys on each side similarly faced one another.

In 1801 some Bombay native regiments were included in the expeditionary force despatched from Bombay under Sir David Baird to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercromby's army in expelling the French from Egypt. But the French had already evacuated Cairo before the arrival of the Indian contingent. The occasion was commemorated by one of the fine medals which the Honourable East India Company was in the habit of striking for the reward of its troops; it represented a sepoy waving the Union Jack, with the Pyramids in the background of the landscape.

In 1859 many doubts were expressed as to the policy of the French in employing their Algerian native troops in the campaign against the Austrians in Lombardy; but their conduct both in the field and quarters amply justified their employment.

Again, in 1870, in the Franco-Prussian War, the Spahis and Turcos proved themselves as good as the average of European soldiers, and as much to be relied upon as their French comrades. The graves of some of these Moorish soldiers who were, with Bourbaki's unfortunate army, driven over the Swiss frontier by the victorious Germans may to-day be seen in the graveyard of the cathedral at Lucerne---a strange fate for these Musalman children of the desert, to die at the foot of the Swiss mountains.

In 1878 Lord Beaconsfield brought a division of Indian troops to Malta to threaten the Russians whose army was then encamped before the walls of Constantinople. The force was a fairly representative one, comprising troops of all arms and of all creeds and classes of the Indian Army. But they saw no service in the field, for Russia gave way

before Lord Beaconsfield's menaces and submitted her agreements with Turkey to the judgment of a European Congress at Berlin. From this time forward it became certain that our Indian troops would be employed in Europe in case of war; but they were not employed in the South African War of 1900-1902 in deference to the prejudices of the Colonists.

As might be imagined, the arrival of an Indian army corps on the field of war in France and Flanders has made its mark on our periodical literature. The *ASIATIC REVIEW* of February 15 published an informing lecture by the well-known Orientalist, Colonel D. C. Phillott, on "Some of the Military Castes of the Indian Army," and comprehensive yet succinct accounts of its formations have been contributed by Mr. Charles Vivian to the pages of this *REVIEW*, and by Violet Verrey to the *Badminton Magazine* for February.

Some confusion naturally arises in these accounts from the recent changes in organization - e.g., Mr. Vivian states that the regiments of the line from the 1st to the 48th are all Bengal infantry, and that those from the 51st to the 59th are "all counting with the Frontier Force"; while Violet Verrey reckons the corps numbered from 1 to 18 as Bengal, and those from 19 to 59 as Punjab. She also states that the Indian Army "was originally divided into four separate commands, thus: Madras and Burma, Bombay, Bengal, and the Punjab." But this four-fold division of the Indian Army was of quite recent origin, and only lasted for a few years, when it gave place to the present organization. The whole Indian Army was originally divided into the three separate and distinct Presidency armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. These armies were complete in themselves, and comprised European artillery and infantry regiments, as well as native Indian cavalry, artillery, sappers and infantry; they had their own regulations and standing orders, differing from each other in many particulars: their customs, their equipment, and

even their dress, varied in many respects. The Bengal sepoy wore what was called a "sundial" turban, while the head-dress of the Madras and Bombay sepoys had a dome-shaped crown. The British officer in Bengal and Bombay wore a plain blue frockcoat, with a standing collar and gilt shoulder-scales, while his compeer in Madras had a braided frockcoat, with a rolling collar, showing a white linen shirt-collar and black silk tie. The pattern of their camp furniture and the fashion of their hog-spears showed to which Presidency army they belonged. The Bengal officer was remarkable for the luxury of his camp equipage; the Bombay officer for the excellence of his stable. Three distinct types answered to the nicknames of "Qui-hi," "Mull," and "Duck." The first was derived from the custom of calling the attention of a servant by the words "Koi hai?" (Is anyone there?) The "Mull" was an abbreviated reference to the Mulligatawny, which was a standing dish on Madras mess-tables; and the epithet "Duck" had a similar reference to the delicacy eaten as a relish with curry, known as a "Bombay duck."

There was considerable rivalry, not to say jealousy, between the three armies—that of Bengal, being under the immediate eye of the Supreme Government, was suspected of getting more than its fair share of the loaves and fishes. The native ranks of each army regarded the others as aliens and foreigners. The high-caste Bengal sepoy looked with contempt on the low-caste Madrasi, who repaid his scorn with hatred. When the troops of the three armies met on a joint expedition, they met more as the armies of allied Powers than as fellow-subjects of the same Government. In 1857 the Madras and Bombay sepoys were keen to fight against the mutineers of the Bengal army.

Of these three armies the Madras, or coast army, as it was formerly commonly called, was the oldest. They were Madras sepoys, "the miserable Kafirs of Telingana," who accompanied Clive to Bengal in 1756, and who helped to win the Battle of Plassey. The 61st Pioneers, formerly

the 1st Madras Native Infantry, is the *doyen* of our Indian Army. The English rulers at Calcutta were not long in following the example set by Madras, and raised regiments of the stalwart Hindustanis from up-country, who for a century went by the name of Bengal Sepoys, though there was not a single Bengali to be found in their ranks. Bombay was the last Presidency to make territorial acquisitions, and the 1st Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, now the 101st Grenadiers, dates only from 1779.

All these three armies grew by degrees with the growth of the British power in India, and each fresh territorial expansion of its sway was accompanied by a corresponding increase in their strength, till the whole map of India had been coloured red. Each army comprised several regiments of European infantry, and an artillery regiment divided into troops of horse and battalions of foot artillery, of whom about one-fifth were natives; a corps of engineer officers; and a brigade of native sappers. The Bengal native army, when it had reached its final development, mustered ten regiments of light cavalry and seventy-four regiments of infantry; the Madras army had eight regiments of the former and fifty-two of the latter; the Bombay army had three light cavalry and thirty infantry regiments. The organization, training, and equipment of all these troops was copied as closely as possible from that of the British Army; even the dress was assimilated by degrees, though much time and tact was required to overcome the prejudices and peculiarities of the natives in this respect. The shorts at first worn were replaced in course of time by trousers, and the sandals by boots; a shako was substituted for the turban; and by the middle of the nineteenth century Jack Sepoy, viewed from behind, might have been mistaken for Thomas Atkins.

But alongside of these regular armies there sprang up another and an irregular military organization, which had its origin in the necessity for coping with the system of guerilla warfare carried on by the roving bands of Pindaris,

who served as auxiliaries to the Mahratta armies, much in the same way as the Cossacks served as auxiliaries to the regular Russian armies in the West.

The French military adventurer Perron had raised a body of horse for the service of the Maharajah Scindia, which afterwards passed into the British Service, and was commanded by the English military adventurer James Skinner. Skinner's Horse became the 1st Bengal Irregular Cavalry, and is now the 1st Indian Cavalry Regiment, the Duke of York's Own Lancers. This was the first of the irregular regiments which for half a century formed a large proportion of the Honourable Company's army. Eugene Sue, in his romance of the "Wandering Jew," styled the Indian irregulars "cowardly and ferocious brigands." Ferocious they may have been; cowardly they certainly were not. Their ranks were filled by the best fighting men of India, who were deterred from entering our regular regiments by the strict discipline and the European dress. The irregulars wore the native costume of turban and long-skirted, collarless coat, girt with a kamarband. They were organized on the Silahidári's system—that is, the Government paid a lump sum for each trooper, and the regiment found him all that he required to make himself efficient—~~horse~~ horse, arms, and equipment. In some regiments all the horses were the property of the native officers; in others each man found his own horse. The troops and squadrons were commanded by native officers, and the British officers numbered only three—a Commandant, a Second-in-Command, and an Adjutant, who were picked men from the regular army. The Commandant was an autocrat; the Risaldars had responsibility, and were often men of wealth and good social standing, and the duties were carried out in the slipshod and happy-go-lucky manner most consonant with the Oriental genius. There was always much rivalry between the advocates of the regular and irregular systems; each had its advantages and disadvantages, but there can be little doubt but that the latter was better

suited to the character and to the idiosyncrasies of our Indian fellow-subjects.

The Bengal army finally possessed twenty-four regiments of irregular cavalry and about a dozen of irregular infantry. The Madras army had no irregular corps. Bombay had six of cavalry and three of infantry. The contingents furnished by Native States under British control, the Hyderabad, the Gwalior, the Kotal contingent, etc., were all organized on the irregular system.

The first appearance of Sikhs and Gurkhas in our Indian Army was in irregular regiments. The Sirmur and Nasiri Battalions of Gurkhas (now the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Gurkha Rifles) took part in the campaigns which won for us the Punjab, and after the conquest of that province the Punjab irregular frontier force became, in the words of Lord Sandhurst, "the steel head of the lance that defended India."

The conquest of Scinde and of the Punjab opened up new recruiting grounds for the Indian armies. Up to that time their ranks had been filled entirely by the Musalmans and Hindus of Hindustan and the Decan. All the regular regiments of the three armies were "mixed" regiments—*i.e.*, they were open to every caste, creed or nationality in the country. This system was originally, and no doubt wisely, adopted in the raising of native troops to guard against the danger of a combination against their employers, and it succeeded. In Madras and Bombay the system worked well and flourished until a very few years ago, when it was exchanged for the class company system. In the lines of a Madras regiment Musalmans, Hindus, Christians and Pariahs all lived together cheek-by-jowl like a happy family. In Bombay there was the additional variation of Israelites, and of an occasional Parsee. But in the Bengal army the high-caste Brahmins and Kshatriyas crowded into the ranks in such numbers that they formed a close corporation, excluding all other castes and races. The Musalmans similarly all but monopolized the cavalry arm

of the service both in the Bengal and Madras armies, but in Bombay they were mixed with Mahrattas. But when we came to recruit in the Punjab, the enmity between Sikh and Musalman, the aversion of Pathans and Hindus, was such that men of these classes could not be induced to rub shoulders in the ranks or to share quarters in the lines. This led to the introduction of the class company system, which was later further developed in class regiments. This system makes military service popular with the people, while, by keeping the different races and castes apart, it provides the same security against combination as was formerly sought by mixing them all together in a heterogeneous mass.

It was by accident and not by design that the old Bengal army had become a close preserve for Musalmans and high-caste Hindus, and thus departed from the mixed system which was still in force in Madras and Bombay. The result was the great Mutiny of 1857, in which the Bengal army dissolved, nearly all of the corps composing it being destroyed or disbanded. In these were included all the ten regular cavalry regiments and all the infantry regiments except eleven, most of which owed their survival to the fact of their having been stationed out of India, in Burma or China, when the Mutiny broke out. The irregular troops behaved better, eight out of the twenty-four regiments of horse remained loyal, and they took the number of the first cavalry corps in the new Bengal army which was constituted after the suppression of the Mutiny. The eleven regular regiments that had survived were numbered from 1 to 11 in the new Army List, and they were followed by four irregular infantry regiments which had also survived the storm. The rest of the army was made up to nineteen regiments of cavalry and forty-five of infantry by corps raised hastily to combat the mutineers, mostly in the Punjab.

The cataclysm of the great Mutiny quite changed the composition of the Indian Army by introducing into it large numbers of Sikhs, Punjabis, Pathans, Baluchis and Gurkhas.

The Madras army suffered as great a change as that of Bengal, for its strength was out of all proportion to the territories that it garrisoned, and it underwent successive reductions and transformations in which most of its old formations disappeared. Five of its cavalry and twenty of its infantry regiments were disbanded, and twenty other infantry regiments were converted into Punjabi corps. A few squadrons of cavalry and eleven battalions of infantry now represent the old coast army. The Bombay army has been the most fortunate of the three in the preservation of its historical traditions and old formations, along with an undiminished numerical strength.

The wisdom of one generation is the foolishness of the next. The fetishes worshipped by Anglo-Indian militarism were destroyed in the explosion of the Mutiny, and a new gospel took their place. The Punjabi army, hastily improvised to combat the Hindustani mutineers, had been raised on the irregular principle, and it was decided that this principle was henceforth to be applied to the whole of the native troops in India. The regular regiments in Madras and Bombay were to be irregularized, but it was found impossible in practice to convert regulars into irregulars, though the converse operation was not so difficult. Regularity and uniformity are the indispensable adjuncts of a standing army, and the new irregular Bengal army became in due course of time as regular as the old one. Red Tape wriggled at the office doors, and Routine crawled out from its temporary hiding-place. All the essential features of the irregular system, the authority of the Commandants, the responsibility of the native officers, the picturesque differences in details of dress and equipment, vanished one by one. The result of the universal adoption of the irregular system is that to-day there are no irregular regiments in the Indian Army.

After the Mutiny the Headquarters Staff at Simla gradually extended its influence and authority over the armies of the minor Presidencies until the movement terminated ten

years ago in the amalgamation of all the various military forces into one Indian Army. This change was not popular with the native ranks, principally for the reason that it was a change; it was especially obnoxious to the men of localized corps like the Hyderabad contingent. It was advantageous from a military point of view; from a political standpoint its merits were open to argument. The old Presidential designations of the regiments were replaced by the caste, or racial, or territorial appellation of their men. It was certainly an anomaly that the majority of our Indian regiments should until recently have been distinguished by the title of "Bengal," when there was not a single Bengali in their ranks; but the new system has also its anomalies. For instance, the 93rd Regiment is styled the "Burma Infantry," while it is exclusively recruited from the Punjab; and other regiments bear the name only of "Russell's Infantry," which gives no clue to their composition. Mr. Charles Vivian, in his article in the January number of this REVIEW, states that the 38th (King George's Own Central India Horse) and the 39th, "with a similar title, state the place of origin by their names." These two regiments are almost entirely composed of Sikhs, a fact which Mr. Vivian was apparently unaware of, for he writes: "There are no less than thirty-nine regiments of horse in the native Indian Army, and in all the list neither the word Sikh nor the word Gurkha appears." This statement is true as regards the Gurkha, who is a mountaineer and no horseman; but the Indian Army List shows that out of the 160 squadrons of cavalry, thirty-eight are exclusively composed of Sikhs—i.e., one-fourth of the whole number.

The absence of the word "Mahratta" from the list of our Indian squadrons might have been remarked upon, considering that 100 years ago the Mahratta armies consisted mainly of cavalry. Before the Mutiny there was a sprinkling of Mahrattas in the Madras cavalry, and there was an irregular corps called the Southern Mahratta Horse

in the Bombay army, from which the bodyguard of the Governor of Bombay was formed. There are six regiments of Mahratta infantry, but their once famous horsemen are no longer to be found.

Mr. Vivian is again in error when, in enumerating the Indian infantry, he says: "There are ten regiments (or battalions) of Gurkha Rifles"; and later on he says: "As for the Gurkhas, they form ten battalions of Rifles." There are ten Gurkha regiments of two battalions each, or a total of twenty battalions. All these Gurkhas are foreign mercenaries, recruited from the population of the independent kingdom of Nepaul, on our north-eastern frontier, and there is little doubt but that we might draw a still larger supply of good soldiers from the independent State of Afghanistan, on our north-west frontier, if we took the trouble to make the necessary arrangements. The Afghan, or Pathan, is a born soldier, and fighting is to him the main business and object of life.

Half the numerical strength of our Indian Army is now drawn from one province of the Empire--the Punjab. The Pathan, the Sikh, the Dogra, the Punjabi (Muselman and Hindu), are all bred in the land of the Five Rivers. But we have good soldiers drawn from other provinces of India who are now fighting the battles of the Empire on the fields of France and Flanders, helping, in the stirring words of Mr. Vivian, "to build up a structure of international intercourse and goodwill which alone makes the progress of Europe possible."

INDIA AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS

BY SYUD HOSSAIN

ON March 16, at their last sitting before the Easter vacation, the House of Lords threw out by forty-seven votes against twenty-six the draft proclamation for the constitution of an Executive Council in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh which had been submitted by His Majesty's Government. This was an important measure designed to mark a further step forward in pursuance of the Morley-Minto policy of reforms inaugurated six years ago, and embodying a change demanded alike by public opinion and the Government of India. The proposal had the emphatic support of the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, it was endorsed by a plea of urgent necessity by the Viceroy of India, and had been accepted by His Majesty's Government after prolonged deliberation. Yet, when the Secretary of State for India formally introduced the measure, the House of Lords, led by three ex-Indian Governors, defeated the Government, and thus held up an important and already belated piece of administrative reform. Nor is this an isolated incident. Less than a year ago, it will be recollected, when His Majesty's Government introduced the Council of India Bill, it was rejected by the House of Lords on the motion of Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon was also one of the opponents of the present measure, the rejection having been formally moved by Lord MacDonnell

(who left India more than fourteen years ago) and supported by Lord Sydenham.

The important thing to note is that these three noble lords were the only speakers, besides Lord Crewe, who took part in the debate, and forty-seven peers went and voted at their bidding! A reference to the names of these noblemen, as published in the *Lords Journals*, makes it abundantly clear that the vast majority of them must of necessity be profoundly ignorant about Indian matters. So far as the public is aware, they have taken little interest in India, and their experience of Indian affairs is *nil*.

The situation, therefore, would seem to be this: For all matters affecting India, the House of Lords has practically surrendered its initiative, and some half a dozen retired Anglo-Indian administrators, headed by Lord Curzon, have become the keepers of its conscience. The Opposition majority at their command is being utilized as a potent instrument for the frustration of Indian reforms, and the consequent negation of the great policy of conciliation which Lord Morley initiated on behalf of the Liberal Government, and which has been so signally vindicated since the outbreak of the war.

That what has been said above is in no sense an over-statement will appear conclusively by reference to the words of spirited remonstrance and grave warning which Lord Hardinge felt called upon to utter in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 25 last. His Excellency said:

"With a sense of profound regret I have heard that a motion for sending an address to the King-Emperor against the proclamation creating an Executive Council for the United Provinces has been carried by 47 votes to 28 by the House of Lords. . . . *It seems a matter of serious concern that a small body of peers, who perhaps, hardly realize the state of progress in India, can throw out a proposition put before Parliament by the Government of India and His Majesty's Govern-*

ment with the full approbation of Indian public opinion. I think a modification of the law by which such procedure is possible is absolutely essential, and trust that this will be recognized by His Majesty's Government."

That a statesman of Lord Hardinge's reputation and habitual restraint should have been moved into so weighty and unusual a protest argues no ordinary provocation. And, indeed, it is not hard to perceive that it was no personal considerations, but an acute sense of the public harm threatening from the "capture" of the Lords' Veto by a reactionary coterie that fired the Viceroy of India. That is an aspect of the matter to which British public opinion should be aroused. As the *Daily News* wrote: "The grave words of the Viceroy should be laid to heart by Parliament and the country at large. The time is gone when a handful of exhausted bureaucrats in the House of Lords can be allowed to command the tide of progress to stop, and no more unfortunate moment than the present could have been chosen for this particular exercise in the unwise and the futile. The path of constitutional development along which India must travel is indicated. It is the path of increasing confidence and increasing responsibility."

It is as a symptom rather than an achievement that the action of the Lords has significance. As there is reason to believe that the same fate that was meted out to the earlier legislative proposals will overtake any further measures of Indian reform that may come up before the House of Lords, the prospect is one that calls for public discussion.

The question resolves itself into a twofold issue. First, let us consider the project of providing the United Provinces with an Executive Council on its merits. It was nothing novel or revolutionary. It involved no new principle. Nevertheless, Executive Councils represent an administrative departure of comparatively recent growth in India,

so far as Lieutenant-Governorships are concerned. And the attitude of the Lords at the inception of the scheme is worth recalling, as it will help to explain much that may be otherwise unintelligible in their present action. The much-debated Clause 3 of the Indian Councils Bill of 1909, creating an Executive Council for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and empowering the Governor-General in Council later on to create such Council for any other Lieutenant-Governorship, *was overruled by the House of Lords*. At Lord Morley's earnest wish and persuasion, it was allowed to be re-introduced, but with the proviso that a draft of the proclamation constituting the Council shall previously "be laid before each House of Parliament for not less than sixty days during the session of Parliament, and if before the expiration of that time an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament against the draft or any part thereof, no further proceedings shall be taken thereon, without prejudice to the making of any new draft."

So that the threat implicit in this admirable forethought has been duly carried out! But why, it may be asked, this elaborate precaution? That a Lieutenant-Governor should have an Executive Council to assist him seems a fairly innocent proceeding. The answer is that an Executive Council must include an *Indian* member, not by statutory provision, but Morleyan precedent, which it would be inconvenient to disregard. Secondly, the Executive Council would be calculated to impinge on the sacrosanctity of "one-man" rule; it would fetter by its presumptuous counsel the free exercise of authority by "impartial arbiters" (the phrase is Lord MacDonnell's) specially selected by Providence—and the Civil Service Commissioners—to look after India's "dumb millions." In order that the "arbiters" should go on being "impartial," the "millions," in sheer decency, must continue to be "dumb." The corollary, of course, will be readily admitted. Is not to be dumb man's highest destiny?

The creation of an Executive Council for the United Provinces, as has been noted, would have marked no new departure in administrative practice. By the Indian Councils Bill of 1909 the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had been provided with such a Council. Subsequently, when the Durbar changes were announced, the modification of the partition of Bengal necessitated the constitution of the Province of Behar and Orissa. The new Lieutenant-Governorship received its Executive Council in due course, but not, as might be rashly assumed, without challenge in the usual quarter. A characteristic passage from one of Lord Curzon's speeches, what time the details of territorial reorganization consequent upon the change of capital were being thrashed out in Parliament, is *à propos* at the present moment. His Lordship pointed out that the acceptance of the Government's proposal would present "the rather absurd spectacle of Behar and Orissa, admittedly—I do not say it with any disrespect—one of the backward provinces of India, with the full machinery of a Lieutenant-Governor and Executive Council, and side by side with it *you will have the United Provinces—one of the most enlightened and progressive provinces in India—with a Lieutenant-Governor, but with no Executive Council at all. That is a real anomaly.*"

Here, of course, the suggestion was not that the United Provinces should be given an Executive Council, but that Behar and Orissa should be denied one. The argument affords an unconscious criticism of the point of view of these opponents of Indian reform which it is important to bear in mind. A province may be admitted as "one of the most enlightened and progressive in India" with a population, be it added, of over forty-five millions—and in the same breath refused such an elementary administrative concession as an Executive Council. As both the admission and the refusal are Lord Curzon's, it would appear that, in this instance at all events, he perceives no "real anomaly."

What, then, is the argument in support of its perpetration? Lord MacDonnell's statement that the great landed proprietors were opposed to the reform was disposed of with crushing vigour by the Raja of Mahmudabad on March 25 from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council. The Raja is one of the biggest and most influential of the landed magnates of Oudh, and, while a staunch supporter of the Government, has not wavered in an enlightened patriotism. He said he did not know the sources of information of Lord MacDonnell, but he emphatically denied the correctness of his judgment. He thought they were "ultra-moderates" in asking for an Executive Council instead of pressing for a Governorship in Council for the United Provinces.

Lord MacDonnell, however, has another string to his bow. He declared that "nothing could be more ill-advised or dangerous for the Empire than to bring a question of this description before public notice during the continuance of the war." The faithful *Times* thereupon came out with a leading article on "The Wrong Time for Indian Reforms." That is a note that would be more plausible if it were less familiar. The truth of the matter is--and Indians have no longer any illusions on the subject--that for *The Times* and those under whose inspiration it speaks there will never be a right time for Indian reforms. At the present moment, it appears, we are "in the midst of the greatest war this country has ever waged." Well, what of the last time, *before the war*, when an Indian measure occupied the attention of the House of Lords? Let me recall a pregnant passage from Lord Morley's speech in the debate on the Council of India Bill (which was thrown out):

"The noble lord [Lord Amphill] had said he sympathized with the aspirations of the people of India, *but this was not the time to introduce this Bill. The time would never come.* If the noble lord was waiting until this House and the other House were entirely

agreed on everything, and had nothing to do but attend to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, *he was like the rustic waiting on the edge of the stream until the water ceased to flow—it would never flow by.*"

Comment is superfluous. Perhaps *The Times* will try again.

The true inwardness of the Lords' action last month, and the spirit animating those who instigated it, are by now sufficiently manifest. They have already evoked indignant protests, and not less, one is happy to observe, in this country than in India. The *Nation's* indictment is incontrovertible:

"Lord Curzon clearly thinks it wrong for India to be 'political.' She may be submissive and soldierly, but she must not think or act for herself in other than thoroughly mental and well-guarded capacities. Her sons may possess the full privilege of dying for the Empire, but not of helping effectually to make the State live. This is the old attack, covered by obsolete artillery, on the legislation of 1909. Not a vestige of the ground covered by the Morley reforms is really conceded by these reactionaries. India is to ~~them~~ a permanent satrapy of the Empire, and her children are to return from the stricken field with no such guerdon in their hands as soldiers of liberty are accustomed to carry."

At a time when the future of the British Empire is being consecrated with a new purpose, and the best minds in it are stirred, as perhaps never before, by an impulse of chastened righteousness, when political idealism is coming more and more into its own, and chicane is at a discount, it is melancholy to watch the accredited apostles of Anglo-India still impervious to grace, wedded as ever to vested interest, their prejudices unsoftened and their vision unredeemed.

WHERE EAST MEETS WEST

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE heart's desire of a number of convalescent Indian soldiers in this country has been fulfilled during the past few weeks: they have seen London. Some of them had the good fortune to see their Majesties the King and Queen just as they were driving out from Buckingham Palace. The palace was one of the objectives of the drive through the metropolis, with a visit to the royal stables. Other places of interest shown were the Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, the Tower of London, and some of the big shops for making purchases. If the men were pleased to see London, London was as pleased to see them, and the large motor which conveyed them from place to place attracted considerable attention. The sight-seeing ended, the next destination was 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, where dinner was served, in accordance with the customs and caste of the men. Afterwards a number of distinguished visitors arrived to see them, among others being Mr. Charles Roberts, Under-Secretary of State for India, who has taken special interest in the visits, the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, Sir O'Moore and Lady Creagh, Sir Bindon and Lady Blood, General Lawrence, Lord Delaware, Sir William Duke, Sir Fowell Buxton, Sir James and Lady Hayes Sadler, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. Abas Ali Baig, Mr. C. A. Latif, Colonel Yate, Mr. and Mrs. Ameer Ali, and Sir A. Priestley, M.P. Mr. A. Ezra has also taken keen interest in the different parties, and most kindly supplied them with useful gifts; Mr. Jeebhoy and others have remembered them in a similar way, and an atmosphere of goodwill has been created. The men have shown warm appreciation of the interest taken in them. Most of them were on the point of returning to the front. The Muhammadans held their *Namaz* in the large hall.

The Union of East and West has continued its excellent work in entertaining the convalescent Indian soldiers. A second visit to Bournemouth, when three performances were given, was much appreciated by the soldiers and the public. Three visits have been paid to New Milton; the audiences on each occasion numbered 1,000—soldiers only, as there was no accommodation for the public. The service of the Union has been unique in

taking amusement to within easy reach of the hospitals, and the help of Professor Inayat Khan, as musician and philosopher, has been invaluable.

At the "Lord Roberts Memorial Dinner" at the Lyceum Club, London, on April 26, the suggestion was warmly received that an excellent memorial to the distinguished soldier would be to extend the workshops for disabled soldiers and sailors which the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society has established. Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, speaking for the Indian guests at the dinner, expressed hearty approval, especially as the scheme could be extended to India, and thus the country and the soldiers so beloved by Lord Roberts would be able to co-operate with Great Britain in enshrining his memory in a practical way, and a way which aroused his interest and met with his approval. The Secretary of the Society, Major Tudor Craig, told the company that Lord Roberts often visited the existing factory and talked to the men. Within the last nine years the Society has helped 2,000 cases of ex soldiers and sailors able-bodied or disabled on discharge; so much difficulty was found in dealing with the disabled that workshops were started in a very small way, and the men began by making toys out of tin boxes. Such progress has been made that an inlaid wardrobe can now be supplied. The idea is to extend the workshops to all parts of the country as they not only help a disabled man to be once again a member of the working community, but give him the power to support himself and his family. During the last seven years the Society has paid £30,500 in wages to such men. Speaking of the future, Major Tudor Craig said that from figures in his possession he estimated that the number of disabled men in the post-war would be 2 per cent. of the sick and wounded, or about 3,500 for each million men.

The Women's Indian Study Association held an interesting meeting at the Jehangier Hall, Imperial Institute, on April 30, at which Lady Sydenham presided, and emphasized the importance of a good understanding between British and Indian women. The Rev. F. Lenwood, who has been connected with missionary work in India, strongly urged European women in India to learn a vernacular language as the best means for coming into touch with the women of India. Mr. Yusuf Ali also laid stress on the importance of the study of Indian questions by women, and pointed out that Indian women were now taking interest in the world outside. He referred to letters he had seen from the families of Indian soldiers in which questions were asked with eagerness as to what the women and children of France and England were like. In this connection mention may be made of Sir William Wedderburn's proposal for an Entente between Britain and India, to be organized by women. The idea has aroused interested attention, and is being seriously considered. It has been pointed out that women have done good service in this respect; the National Indian Association, for instance, was founded by a woman, Miss Mary Carpenter, and she was succeeded in the Hon. Secretaryship by

Miss Adelaide Manning, whose successor is Miss E. J. Beck. But the idea is capable of extension both in this country and in India.

"Competition or Selection for Public Service" was the subject of an address given by Sir Theodore Morrison at a social gathering of the National Indian Association on April 19. Sir Theodore admitted force in the criticism that competitive examinations were no test of common sense and resourcefulness, but it was difficult to discover any other system that was equally free from criticism. The record of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service, and more recently the Police Service, was, he observed, a considerable tribute to the merit of the competitive system. In any country dissatisfaction was produced if large and influential classes were excluded from examinations. The impression left upon his hearers by his concluding remarks was that Sir Theodore favoured selection, with proper safeguards, where special qualifications were required. In the discussion, Sir Krishna Gupta and Mr. B. Dubé strongly favoured competition, and Sir Theodore's final word was that, broadly speaking, the competitive system was the more satisfactory for the recruitment of younger men and selection for older men of marked distinction.

The last outing organized by the National Indian Association was a visit to the training ship the *Arctura*—the original *Saucy Arctura*—now used by the National Refuges for Destitute Children as a home, in which 250 boys are trained every year for the navy or merchant service. Five of the boys acted as guides for the party, and proved keen, intelligent, and humorous in carrying out their task. The next visit will be on May 22 to Charterhouse, when the "Brother" who lives in the house visited by Thackeray when gathering facts for his character of Colonel Newcombe, will conduct the party. Friends who wish to join the party are asked to send their names to Miss Beck, 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington. The meeting-place is at the entrance in Charterhouse Square, E.C., at 2.45 p.m. on Saturday, May 22.

The Shatt-ul-Arab has figured prominently in the public eye of late; it was the subject of Mr. Percival Landon's lecture to the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on April 15, and was also dealt with by Mr. D. G. Hogarth at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on April 26. Mr. Landon's paper was a masterly survey of the subject; his conclusion was that the gates of India must be protected, and the Shatt-ul-Arab, being one of the outer gates, must be held by Great Britain and as much of the land behind it as may be necessary for the purpose. Our control of the southern reach of the Bagdad-Basra line and the carrying out of the huge projects of Sir William Willcocks will lay upon us, he declared, "burdens of watchfulness and preparation, and an eternal possibility of the need for intervention."

Two Indians were among the 600 graduates of the London University present at Convocation on May 5 to receive their degrees. They were

Dr. J. N. Mehta, who received the M.D. and also the medal of the University for medicine. These honours are a fitting triumph to his student career, which included the winning of the gold medal for medicine in the University of Bombay. The other recipient was Mr. J. M. Cursetjee, of Bombay, who has gained the B.Sc. in engineering, and, after considerable practical experience in this country, is about to return to India to take up an appointment in the Public Works Department. A notable feature of Convocation this year was the number of men in uniform who took their degrees. Never before has the Chancellor handed the precious documents to men in khaki, booted, leather-gaitered, and spurred, or wearing London Scottish uniform, with kilt, sporran, and dirk—somewhat hidden beneath the University gown and hood. Lord Rosebery, in his address as Chancellor, indignantly repudiated the charge that the country was apathetic with regard to the war. What nation, he asked, has ever raised an army of 2,000,000 men in a few months by voluntary recruitment? Many women received degrees in arts, science, medicine, research, and even engineering.

THE TEMPLE

BY MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

PRIEST

AWAKE ! it is Love's radiant hour of praise,
 Bring new-blown leaves his temple to adorn,
 Pomegranate buds and ripe sirisha sprays,
 Wet sheaves of shining corn.

PILGRIM

*O priest, only my broken lute I bring
 For Love's praise-offering.*

PRIEST

Behold ! the hour of sacrifice draws near,
 Pile high the gleaming altar-stones of Love
 With delicate gifts of slain wild forest deer,
 And frail white wounded dove.

PILGRIM

*O priest, only my stricken heart I bring
 For Love's blood-offering.*

PRIEST

Lo ! now it strikes Love's solemn hour of prayer,
 Kindle with fragrant boughs his blazing shrine,
 Feed the rich flame with spice and incense rare,
 Cream of rose-pastured kine.

PILGRIM

*O priest, only my riven soul I bring
 For Love's burnt-offering.*

A VIEW FROM INDIA ON THE WAR

I

WE live in a time of universal change and travail. The whole world is in a flux. European civilization is engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and after the war it will have undergone a profound revolution. Asia—Leviathan that she is—is stirred in her sleep. A new movement is visible throughout the Orient, in China and Japan. India also has her share in this world movement. She has had a long sleep; she is just waking from the stupor of ages. Throughout the length and breadth of the land we see a great stir of social life—the birth of a national consciousness. In every department—art, literature, society and religion—there is a regeneration. We are familiar with this new spirit which is no doubt an evidence of a broadening life, rich in hope and full of promise, under the names of “The Indian Renaissance” and “The Awakening of India.”

This awakening of national forces, which is largely due to the shock of the impact with the West, unless properly regulated, may lead to serious dangers. As India rises from her sleep she finds the Western spirit invading her soul. The Oriental consciousness and the Western ideals are at grips just now in India, as in no other country of the world. At present it is the civilization of the West that is in the ascendant. It holds India in its firm grasp. India seems to be rapidly succumbing to its in-

fluence. The civilization of India, her culture and her institutions, awake no thrill. They are all in the melting-pot. Judged by European canons of conduct and life their case is weak. India may perhaps give them up. In her eagerness to realize her national aspirations, India is ready to cast to the winds her past traditions and her inherited spiritual culture. In her anxiety to emulate the methods of the West which have led the Western peoples to political freedom, she is prepared to tear up the roots of her civilization. She feels her civilization has played her false. It has led her into her present condition of subjection and tutelage, and so it seems to her that the only hope and promise lies in servile imitation of the West.

While we admit that Western civilization, which is pre-eminently material, embodying the spirit of competition, love of wealth and devotion to things tangible, is a necessary corrective of the mystic dreamy temperament of India, we feel sure that a wholesale substitution of the Western type for the Indian is fraught with disastrous consequences to India. Nor is it in the interests of the world to sacrifice variety and aim at uniformity in the matter of culture and civilization. If India has suffered politically, she has herself to blame. She, in her conduct, has not been true to the spirit of her highest religion and philosophy. The caste system in its present form, with all its attendant evils, is antagonistic to the principles of love, peace, and brotherhood, as preached by her sages. It is not the adoption of a civilization which is severely practical in its methods and intensely material in its aims, but a thorough recasting of her social forms, keeping her soul untouched, that will enable her to progress in the world. India, therefore, is in a critical position. The present is the hour of her danger. Her future hangs in the balance. She has to make a choice. Carlyle's lines are here in point :

"Choose well, for your choice is
Brief and yet endless."

Imitation of the West may or may not secure for India political freedom, but it is sure to destroy her soul. Even if we assume that political independence can be achieved in that way, the extinction of her soul is too high a price to pay for it. But if India regains her individuality and preserves intact and unimpaired her glorious spiritual self all other things will be added unto her. Let her find her soul; political freedom she will have and she must have.

At this critical moment the European war has come. In spite of all its evil and horror, there is this element of goodness in it that it has revealed to India the soul of Europe. The war has come in the nick of time to clear the minds of those Orientals who have been ill satisfied with their own culture and traditions. It has come to draw the attention of India's leaders, who were dupes to a deep delusion, to the facts of the case. The European war has arrested the attention of India, and allowed her breathing time to reflect and decide about the choice she has presently to make. India will take thought, and perhaps mend her ways. The vaunted civilization of the West is stripped bare, and the diseases of her body politic—the cancer which is eating into her very vitals—are made manifest. Let us ask: What is the cause of this war, this catastrophe which flings the march of progress back through the centuries? The answer is brief: it is the will to possess, the aggressive spirit which has the West by the throat. The responsibility for this war is not on this country or on that: it is in the spirit which is not exclusively German, but European. The war is the natural and logical outcome of this spirit which has animated the West for the last four or five centuries. The West has regarded herself as the God-appointed agent to civilize the backward races of the world and the sole claimant to the uninhabited portions of the earth's surface. This is the white man's burden. The Britisher had the start in the race, and so has occupied large portions of the earth. The Frenchman came soon after, and owns a

Colonial Empire second only to that of Great Britain. The German woke up a little late, and found to his dismay that in the Continent of Europe he was hemmed in between two strong and powerful nations, France and Russia, which would not allow him scope for expansion ; and in the world beyond there was Britain, which had to be consulted at every turn. The German has inherited the European spirit, and so feels that with his vigour and enterprise, with his self-confidence and resolution, with his genius for invention and wonderful capacity for organization, and, above all, with faith in his own destiny, he would be able to carry all before him and make every other man his vassal. He has a whole world to conquer ; he has not yet conquered his own chains. Where everyone wants to play the same game, and plays the pipe to the same "motif"—the dominion of the planet Earth—there is sure to arise a conflict of interests. Everyone wants to outdo everyone else. Mutual suspicion, jealousy, and hatred, pervade the atmosphere. Militarism and the menace of diplomacy increase. Machiavelli machinates ; mischief is afoot. Europe becomes an armed camp with wars and rumours of wars. The European nations, while possessed of this hateful spirit, have the polish of civilization which makes them keep up appearances, and we hear talk of international friendship, mutual ententes, etc. What can this friendship without the heart be but a sort of cat friendship, paw to-day and claw to-morrow ; velvet gloves, then iron fists ? The shibboleths of outward behaviour, which deceive no one—truth, justice, and plighted word—are dangled before the world.

"Earth is sick and weary

Of the hollow words that States and kingdoms utter."

When they talk of truth and justice, they know all the time that it is encouraging an atmosphere in which wars are born. The principle of the Balance of Power is a confession that the natural feeling of nations is one of

hostility, and that a system of checks and balances is the only way to keep them from flying at each other's throats. The twentieth century began as an era of mutual distrust, rivalry and rancour of nations. Thus we see it is the Western spirit, which is violent, selfish and aggressive in matters affecting world-politics and race questions that has brought about this war. All nations are responsible for it, England no less than Germany, France no less than Austria. All have sinned; some more, some less. Prussian militarism may have precipitated the fatal move. The spirit of suspicion, jealousy and hatred was smouldering. It needed but a match to set fire to it, and Germany struck it; thus the European world, after nineteen centuries of the Gospel of peace, is witnessing the greatest war in the history of the human race. The wonder is not that the catastrophe has come, but rather that it has been avoided so long. It required no prophet to foresee this war. The world is not in the hands of blind chance. There is such a thing as the logic of history. Even as we sow, we reap. Europe has sown the wind and must reap the whirlwind. A civilization of blood and iron cannot have any result other than the one we are witnessing.

The mind of man in the West is set on outward ends and material aims. The inward vision and the spiritual impulse are lost. Europe has gained outwardly in knowledge of matter, application of steam and electricity, theories of law and government; but she has lost inwardly, for she has materialized all the precious instincts of the spirit. It is the dehumanized and demoralized view of life's mission and purpose that has led to this war. The mechanical and soulless nature of the Western spirit which sees nothing but the actual and values nothing but success has made Europe in A.D. 1915 a cockpit of strife and hate. The West is Christian only in name, for she is prevented from conforming to the Christian spirit of charity and tolerance by the pursuit of the ideals of progress and competition. In spite of all Christian professions, the tale of actual

practice is the tragedy of selfish interest and lust for gold, aptly described as the "yellow peril." The eye of the soul is blinded and the clash of arms is the result. Perhaps Germany at present has all the features characteristic of the West in intensified emphasis. She has shown to the world the goddess in shining armour which Europe has enthroned. Europe also can see in the mirror Germany holds up what kind of goddess she has been worshipping.

In the actual conduct of the war the unspiritual nature of the Western ideal is making itself manifest. The complacency with which these nations have entered into this Titanic struggle, the callousness with which they pursue their methods, and the reckless indifference with which they hack their way through good and evil, beggars all description. Who can enter into war with a good conscience? When all is said and done, war is a disgrace. But if fight we must, why not do it with a view to the military end? Why slaughter innocents, violate women, desolate homes, devastate countries, and bombard cathedrals? Are they of military significance? Such wanton and cruel deeds cannot but leave behind a legacy of hate and bitterness, a legacy which will breed fresh woes and make permanent peace impossible. But to the shame of humanity be it recorded that this war is nothing else than the "triumph of hate" and the "tragedy of pride." No man knows how the world will emerge out of this chaos.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE FOUNDATION OF INDIAN ECONOMICS

BY E. B. HAVILL

I wish to lay stress upon the word "Indian" in the thesis I am dealing with to emphasize a point of vital importance, which is too often ignored by European experts - that there is an Indian point of view in economics as there is in Indian art, music, and every other expression of Indian thought. The broad distinction between Indian economics and the modern science taught in Western schools is that, whereas in the latter the subject is only considered from the standpoint of the trader, the cult of economics being the cult of the successful merchant, Indian thinkers have always insisted that ethical principles are vital to all true science. As the Mahabharata says, "The Heavens are centred in the ethics of the State."

Manu, in laying down principles of economics and morality, enjoins the Brahman to study each day the Vedas which give increase of wisdom, those which teach the means of acquiring wealth, and the salutary laws of life—a very significant association of ideas.

When in deep distress the Brahman was permitted to have recourse to trafficking and usury as a means of supporting life, but Manu warns him that all commercial transactions are said to contain a mixture of truth and falsehood. The Lord of created beings entrusted flocks and herds to the care of the merchant class (Vaisyas); the welfare of

humanity at large was entrusted to the Brahman and the Kshatriya—that is, to the spiritual and political leader, rather than to the man of business.

I think this expresses very clearly the difference between Indian and Western economic theories, as taught by modern scientific experts. The Western expert only concerns himself with the most effective methods by which individuals or nations can acquire the maximum of wealth. And the principles he teaches are a very specious admixture of truth and fallacy, just because he leaves out of his usual reckoning the ultimate effect of his methods upon the general well-being of the human race.

The first great fallacy which is constantly taught as a truism to Indian students of economics, both by European and Indian teachers, is that the modern Western world has discovered a means of acquiring wealth so much more efficient than any before known, either in Europe or in Asia, that the basis of its organization must be accepted by all sensible and practical Indians as the only sure means of economic progress in India.

Sir Theodore Morison, in his book on the "Economic Transition in India," puts the proposition in this form: "From its inherent superiority, the modern organization must prevail over the old, as certainly as a well-drilled, well-equipped, and well-officered army must prevail over a mob of peasants armed only with scythes and pitchforks. Whatever may be its defects on the moral side, whatever the dangers of physical deterioration which may be inseparable from it, the modern industrial organization is at present unrivalled in its capacity to provide the necessities and comforts of life, and in the countries where it is fully developed the wealth per head of the population is incomparably greater than where the more archaic organization prevails."

This is an *ex parte* argument on behalf of those who enjoy the maximum of the comforts of life, but I think the main issues to be decided are entirely ignored.

Are we justified in using the forces of modern science to attack this "mob of peasants armed only with scythes and pitchforks"? Are we forcing this *kultur* of ours upon these peaceful villagers for our own good or theirs? They may not be organized for attack or defence, but for their purposes the scythes and pitchforks may be as efficient as our own weapons. Should the economist write off the moral factor and the ultimate well-being of the human race, and only count the average wealth per head of the population under the new system and the old? Not now, when the British Empire and its Allies stand before the world as the champions of right against might.

Sir Theodore Tilton defines the characteristics and advantages of the modern organization as follows:

1. The interdependence of all parts of the industrial world upon each other.
2. The concentration of labour in factories and manufacturing centres, where it is minutely divided and graded.
3. The aggregation of capital in large amounts so as to secure the advantage of production on a large scale.
4. The direction of industry by expert managers.

With regard to the first point, I venture to dispute the proposition that the interdependence of all parts of the industrial world upon each other is any new departure in economics. This interdependence has existed ever since international commerce began. The only new departure in this respect is that whereas under the old system the exchange of commodities between different countries mainly consisted of luxuries, under the modern system it consists very largely of the necessities of life. Whether this may be regarded as economic progress or a grave national danger is a consideration which the war might bring forcibly home to us in this country. It may be hoped that the lurid light which the present terrible struggle

throws upon our much-vaunted industrial system may make political economists more alive to its dangers and vital disorders. For behind all the political motives which have been disclosed in the diplomatic documents relating to the war there lies one impelling cause of this great catastrophe which has operated on both sides—the rivalry of modern nations for the control of the markets of the world, or the competition to attain the maximum wealth per head of the population. •

There can be no doubt that the astonishing achievements of modern mechanical science has brought new forces into the field of human action, the uncontrolled use of which may bring even more terrible disasters upon the human race than the present war. Might is not necessarily right, whether it is represented by big guns or by industrial organization and machinery. The industrial conquest of the whole world by one nation or group of nations is not in itself the supreme justification of the methods employed. Even "the undisciplined mob of peasants, armed with scythes and pitchforks," may have behind it a moral force which will upset the calculations of academic professors and their well-drilled armies. The forces of modern science, wrongly employed, may be only instruments of self-destruction, and the aim of political economists should be to discover and apply the right use of them for the benefit of humanity at large. The standard of comfort and luxury provided for one section of the community, or for one nation, does not provide a safe test of economic progress.

The concentration of labour in factories, the use of capital in large amounts for increasing of production, and the direction of labour by expert managers, which are the other three items in Sir Theodore Morison's definition of the modern industrial system, may be condensed into one. They are certainly to a large extent new elements in industrialism, but one or two centuries' experience in their application hardly justifies the acceptance of these new

elements as an established basis of a sound industrial system, and the cautious economist would hesitate before recommending the ancient and highly organized civilization of India to discard as useless and out of date the principles upon which her own industrial system was laboriously built up.

The economic life of every country is so intimately related to its history, local conditions, geographical position, national character, capacities and ideals, that it seems to be worse than useless to encourage Indian students to come to London to study the principles of economics taught by European professors, unless and until they have studied thoroughly the economic history and conditions of their own country and civilization. It is just as futile as sending Indian art students to the Royal Academy Schools of the *École des Beaux Arts*. They only learn the Western point of view, and are led to believe that there is no other. This method of study sterilizes their creative capacity and powers of initiative, which a sound educational system should stimulate to the utmost. The British economic system may possibly be best for the British Isles, but the economic basis of our island life must always be essentially different from that of a continent; just as the economy of bird-life is different from that of beasts or fishes.

The broad distinction between the industrial state of India and that of modernized Europe is that Indian industry is still for the most part bound up with village life, and remains technically on a basis of handicraft, while Western industry has tended more and more towards centralization in towns and factories, to the manifest deterioration of the life of the country-side. India is for the most part an agricultural country, and Great Britain a country of mechanical industry. Now, Sir Theodore Morison, in summing up the latest views of Western economists with regard to agriculture, says: "There is certainly as yet no clear indication that in the economically most advanced societies the large farm will prevail and the small farm

disappear; on the contrary, the growth of agricultural co-operation in the last quarter of a century appears to have improved the prospects of the small farmer, for it has enabled him to overcome his most serious disadvantage, the want of capital, and he retains unimpaired and possibly strengthened his immense superiority as a worker over the hired labourer. It is therefore quite conceivable that agriculture may continue as at present in the hands of peasant proprietors and small farmers when India's economic transformation is accomplished." I believe it is also accepted as an axiom by all modern economists that handicraft is an indispensable factor in the vitality and prosperity of agricultural life. Therefore, according to the most advanced economic theories, India still retains in her small farms and her millions of handicraftsmen, for the most part attached to village life, the two most essential conditions for economic prosperity. It seems to me, then, wholly illogical to teach Indian students that they must re-organize all Indian industry upon modern Western lines before there can be any prospect of increasing India's capacity as an industrial country. The fallacy, I think, lies in the attempt which so many economists make to draw a hard-and-fast line between agriculture and industry. If co-operation can help the small farmer to overcome the disadvantages under which he labours in competition with the large farmer, why should not co-operation in similar circumstances assist the intelligent handicraftsman to compete with the large capitalist and the great factory? And if the small farmer can retain or increase his immense superiority as a worker over the hired labourer, why should not the independent craftsman in similar conditions retain his superiority over the mill-hand?

There are many other weak points in the logic of the Western economist when he deals with Indian conditions. One is the assumption of the absolute economic superiority of mechanical power over handicraft, and another the doctrine of the infallibility of division of labour as an

economic theory. The machine, it is said, must overcome manual labour, because it has more power. The factory must be more efficient than the small workshop, because there you can apply the infallible principle of division of labour more effectively. But there are industrial operations in which the maximum of efficiency is not a question of the greatest power, but of the greatest intelligence and skill, and in such operations the limitation of the workman's initiative and intellectual independence by mechanical devices impairs his efficiency instead of increasing it. Similarly, the minute subdivision of labour in the large factory tends to lower the average intellectual efficiency of the workmen, as compared with those whose energies are not so strictly limited to one technical groove.

The virtue of the modern industrial system in its influence upon human progress cannot be, therefore, that it raises the intellectual average of the whole community. It only tends to create industrial supermen. We know now to what that tendency may lead in the larger concerns of national life. Handicraft and the decentralization of labour, under normal healthy conditions, tend to raise the intellectual and moral status of the whole industrial community. Mechanical industry and excessive division of labour tend to lower it. Therefore India in her millions of handicraftsmen and thousands of small workshops possesses economic assets of higher potential value than those she would have if most of her handicraftsmen were absorbed by mechanical industry and the greater number of the workshops were expanded into large factories.

Economists usually pivot their theories upon their calculations of the comparative aggregate production and the money value of it in the markets of the world under the two systems. But these considerations are not by any means the most important for India. The whole civilization of India, all her ideals of life—social, political, and economic—had their mainspring in the organization of her village communities. The concentration of industry in

factories and the reorganization of Indian industrial life upon the economic principles favoured by most Anglo-Indian experts run counter to all the traditions and ideas which made the greatness of Indian civilization in the past, and would weaken or destroy what still remains of their vitality in the present day. It is amazing that anyone who reflects deeply upon the conditions of social life brought about by the last two centuries of what we call progress in Europe can believe for a moment that our economic theories are so perfect in practice and so incontrovertible in logic that we need not hesitate to apply them for promoting an industrial revolution which will still further weaken and perhaps utterly destroy the bases of Indian civilization.

The arguments with which these modern economic theories are supported are nearly all derived from false analogies drawn from European and Indian history. The village in Europe, so Sir Theodore Morison and other writers maintain, "was isolated owing to want of transport and facilities of communication. Men lived in agricultural villages in order to be near food-supplies. The village supplied all its own wants because it could not supply them by importation. As the village afforded only a small market for any one class of goods, production could not be specialized and a minute division of labour was impossible, as the available market was a small one, and there was no occasion for the employment of large amounts of capital even had it existed in the village. And lastly, each craftsman worked independently on his own account because the local demand was not more than sufficient to keep in employment one or two representatives of each industry."*

This is a picture of village life under the old industrial order which is doubtless true of particular instances, but I question whether it should be taken as an accurate summary of village life in general. It is not a picture which a lover of the country-side would draw, but rather one which a confirmed city-dweller, who thought the shady side of Pall

* "The Economic Transition in India," p. 153.

Mall the best place in the world even in summer, would imagine. It is quite impossible to construct any economic theories useful for India upon such analogies.

¶ The village system, as it was constituted by Indo-Aryan civilization, was essentially different to that of Western Europe. The village was not isolated; people did not live in it only to be near food-supplies, but because village life always appealed to the Indian mind as the highest ideal. The village supplied its own necessities; the luxuries it wanted came mostly from outside, as they do now. Production was specialized, for whole villages of craftsmen were often devoted to special industries; and the sacred principle of the division of labour was recognised, so that it might be useful for the work in hand, in the organization of craftsmanship - whether it was in the master craftsman's workshop, or in industrial villages - for different kinds of work were distributed among different craftsmen or different workshops.

The Indian village in its political and economic relationships was the nerve-centre of the whole social system. Whereas in Europe scientific village-planning is regarded almost a discovery of the nineteenth century, the Hindu Silpa Sastras make it the foundation of the master-builder's craft, and give numerous types of well-considered village plans adapted for different social conditions. So deeply-rooted was the village ideal in Indo-Aryan civilization, that the lay-out of the village was consecrated by Hindu religious ritual, and in the great enclosures of South Indian temples it is easy to recognize the main features of the design of the ancient Indo-Aryan village. The village plan formed the Mahalla or ward of the town or city; its system of self-government was the foundation of Hindu polity. The principal street of the village, known as the King's Road, and another crossing it at right angles, were the main lines of communication between village and town. Having regard to the very high development of Hindu craftsmanship in ancient and medieval India, and to the fact that

before the Mogul times the prosperity of towns and cities never obliterated the political independence of the village communities, I think it highly improbable that these main arteries of village traffic were as neglected as they were under the centralized system of Muhammadan government, or that Sir Theodore Morison's statement is correct that "in India the means of transport were singularly imperfect in the past, and that this deficiency has only been made good in the last half-century."

The best known works on Hindu polity not only include among the functions of the central government the duty of policing these roads, of building bridges, providing ferries, and very liberal accommodation for pilgrims and travellers, but one of them - the *Sukranitisara* - declares that the royal roads should be marked by avenues of trees, that they should have a convex surface like the back of a tortoise, have drains on both sides for surface water, and be metalled once a year at the State expense by prisoners or convicts.

When, therefore, economists take the isolation of villages and the difficulties of transport which obtained in England, in France, or in India, in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, as inevitable and universal attributes of the old industrial order, it is very much as if an historian, immediately after the present war, were to take the condition of Belgium as proof of the general neglect of means of communication under the new industrial order.

There are other much more probable reasons for the decay of village life in India than the inherent weakness of the old industrial order. The first was the disturbance of the foundations of Indo-Aryan civilization by the constant invasions of Huns, Scythians, Arabs, Mongols, and other marauding nomads; the next was the break-up of the political independence of the Hindu village communities under the highly centralized system of Muhammadan government. In modern times railways have disturbed the old economic system of India by diverting traffic into new channels, and the interest of the village communities

has not been the chief factor in determining their direction. The great problem for the future is to use these new economic forces more effectively for the restoration of the vitality of Indian village life. We shall not get any nearer to the solution of that problem by assuming the inevitability of the centralization of industrial life in factories, or the inherent superiority of mechanical power over handicraft.

Economic theories based upon the present industrial condition of Europe rest upon a very unstable foundation. If the application of steam power in the last few centuries has made inevitable the passing away of the old industrial order, the advent of electric power has brought in sight changes still more rapid and far-reaching. No one can foresee the ultimate effect of this new revolution upon industrial organization, but this much is clear—that whereas steam power placed the individual craftsman and the small workshop at a disadvantage, electricity will tend more and more towards the decentralization of industry and to restore the economic balance in all the higher grades of craftsmanship, just as co-operation has helped the small farmer to compete successfully against his rival, the larger capitalist. And when electrical science has succeeded in harnessing the power of the sun for industrial purposes, as may happen to-morrow, the fallacy of the theories of political economists that the temperate zones are those which are meant by Nature to be the centres of the world's manufacturing power will be evident, and the whole of the conditions which have given Great Britain its present economic advantages will be reversed. India will then have to set to work to solve her own economic problems, not upon the lines of modern Western industrial development, but upon entirely new ones. The sun shines in the village even more brightly than in the town, and co-operative sun-power societies might help Indian village industry to combine the great advantages of traditional skilled handicraft with all the mechanical powers of modern science.

The craftsman would again become the master instead of being the slave of the machine.

Against such a combination the supermen of modern industrial life, the captains of industry who control great factories and large bodies of workmen, would compete in vain, except in operations like the making of railways, the digging of canals, or the making of big guns, in which mechanical power has manifestly inherent superiority over the capacity of the individual workman. The ancient worship of sun-power would have a new meaning, and India might send another religious message to inspire the dull materialism of the West.

It is not, however, necessary or wise to build up the fabric of India's industrial prosperity only upon the future. There are solid materials existing in abundance, which, for want of technical knowledge, have been seriously neglected both by Indian and Anglo-Indian economists. The hand-weaving industry, which still continues to be India's greatest industry after agriculture, and one which is vital to her economic welfare, was not even counted in the official returns until after 1901, when I called public attention to its existence.

My first suggestions on this subject were greeted with derision by the expert advisers of Government. It was mere sentimentalism, I was told, to attempt to bolster up an effete and moribund industry, which must inevitably disappear before the march of Western progress. There has been a considerable change in the official attitude towards this question in the last ten years, but even now the technical side of it is generally entirely misunderstood. Thus, Sir Theodore Morison, in the book I have previously quoted, is at much pains to prove, by European analogies, that hand-weaving in India has very little prospect of surviving, quite ignoring the fact that even in Europe hand-industry is steadily recovering lost ground, and he dilates upon the hopeless technical inefficiency of the Indian handloom weaver. Similarly, Professor Jadunath Sirkar, in his book on the economics of British India, quotes with approval a statement in a Government of India report that "Industry

conducted in a small way, and by hand-power, are of little use to-day, and it is not wise to encourage their multiplication. Such industries inevitably succumb as soon as they are brought into competition with the products of factory labour, and each mile of railway extension increases the vigour of such competition."

In another passage he condemns the whole system of handicraft by the sweeping assertion that, "in the case of articles of a purely utilitarian nature, our handicraftsmen are rapidly losing their occupation, as the articles manufactured in factories on modern lines, either in India or abroad, are stronger, more durable, and in every way better than those made by hand by native methods."

It would extend the length of this paper unduly to attempt to dispose of these and similar dangerous charges which constantly appear in official documents. They all exhibit an amazing misapprehension of the technical side of Indian industrial problems. It is utterly untrue that Indian hand-weavers, as a class, are lacking in intelligence and technical skill. The most primitive type of village loom does certainly need technical improvement, and the lowest class of village weaver is certainly lacking in intelligence. But this lowest stratum of the industrial population no more represents the average intellectual capacity of the Indian hand-weaver than the lowest grade of mill-hand in Lancashire represents the average capacity of the European mechanic. The average Indian hand-loom is by no means technically inefficient, although various devices for increasing the speed of production invented in Europe are not used. The type of loom used for those fabrics for which India has always been famous shows extraordinary mechanical ingenuity and technical perfection, and in the higher classes of weaving the Indian craftsman has produced work the technical secrets of which have not yet been unravelled by Western experts. The deeper reasons for the decay of Indian handicraft are not to be found in lack of technical knowledge and inefficient apparatus, and it is a ludicrous travesty

of facts to assert that hand-made productions are always inferior in strength and durability to those made by machine. The advantage lies entirely with handicraft, and will always do so.

Similar misconceptions of Indian conditions and of the trend of technical progress in Europe are still held by official authorities with regard to the building industry which, after weaving, must be reckoned the most important of India's industrial assets. My efforts to enlighten public opinion on this subject two years ago met with the same reception as my former endeavours to make the economic condition of the hand-weaving industry better understood. It was only after an expert investigation, undertaken at my suggestion by the Government of India, that the existence of the Indian master-builder has at last been recognized officially. It still remains to be acknowledged that Public Works methods are ruinous to Indian handicraft, and that the technical conditions which obtain in the native Indian building industry are precisely those which are now being revived in Europe by our best architects, because they are indispensable conditions for the realization of good art and craft in architecture.

The native dye industry is another lamentable example of the neglect of India's resources which follows from the misapplication of Western scientific theories. For years past India has been pouring crores of rupees into the pockets of German dye manufacturers, and only when the native indigo and madder—the finest dye materials in the world—are on the verge of extinction, have the official economists become alive to the vast loss to our Imperial resources which this neglect has entailed. If Western science had been rightly employed at the right time, India now might have been supplying the world with her natural dyes, incontestably superior to the best synthetic product.

These are all questions very vital for Indian industry, but I cannot now repeat all I have said on this subject. I must confine myself to the general proposition that the

intelligence of the craftsman is always closely related to that of the grade of society for which he works, and consequently his technical skill and capacity for self-improvement must always depend upon the higher or lower level of culture maintained by the community he serves. Now, the bed-rock of Indian civilization, the foundation of all its culture, and the mainspring of its economic vitality, was the village community. In any endeavour to restore the vitality of Indian village life, and of the handicrafts which are inseparable from a prosperous village life, European and Indian economists are on safe and solid ground. But when their theories and their policy are established upon the data derived from a few centuries of European experience, they are leading India in a direction the dangers of which are obvious and the advantages more than doubtful. They are digging up the foundations of Indian civilization before Europe can truly boast that she has wholly emerged from the shadow of barbarism, or solved for herself the greater problems of social life.

If economists would add to their technical knowledge, and search more carefully, they would find the real causes of India's industrial decadence and the stagnation of her creative powers in the break-up of the constitution of the village communities which began in Mogul times, and has been continued under British rule. The exercise of the powers of self-help and self-government which this constitution conferred upon the people of India was the intellectual and moral stimulus for which no schemes of technical education imposed upon them from above can ever be equivalent. Of all the plans for developing technical education initiated by Government of late years, the most effective is that which is now preparing the way for the restoration of self-governing powers in Indian villages – the co-operative credit societies. Sir Theodore Morison has gathered from the official reports highly interesting illustrations of the stimulus which these societies are giving to the self-culture of the people. In one instance a man of

middle age learned to read and write solely to keep the accounts of the bank of which he was president, and though his first efforts were painfully hard to decipher, he persevered to such good purpose that his books are now the best kept in the Punjab. In another village the president and officers of the bank had acquired such influence that they had reconstituted in themselves the ancient authority of the village Panchayat for settling local disputes, with the result that litigation, which had been the curse of the place, had much decreased.

If similar facilities for self-help and self-culture were systematically extended to the industrial communities of India, especially the weavers and the builders, they would quickly solve for themselves the economic problems which exercise the minds of Anglo-Indian and Indian theorists, and relieve Government departments of the responsibility of providing them with technical education.

I only hope that in the School of Oriental Studies which is to be established in London students of Indian economics will have better information of Indian industrial conditions in their historical, technical, and economic aspects, than that which has hitherto been provided in official reports and returns. The mental bias of departmental experts and their lack of artistic knowledge has led them to collect economic data which fit their Western theories, and to ignore those which do not: to count the thousands of mill-hands, but not the millions of handicraftsmen; to represent the Indian master-builder as extinct or incapable, because he does not work in Anglo-Indian cities, and to preach that the Western way is always the way of progress.

It is essential for all who are concerned in the building of the new India to understand more clearly that however great and real may be the progress of Western science, they will fail to apply it successfully in India without a full appreciation of what India means, and of India's share in the civilization of the world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Cayton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, March 22, 1904, a paper was read by Mr. E. B. Havell entitled, 'The Foundation of Indian Economics.'—Joseph Kings, Esq., M.P., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present: Sir William Drake, C.B., Sir Frank C. Gyles, K.C.M.G., Sir Frederic Joly, K.C.M.G., Sir John Lubbock, Bart., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, Colonel C. F. Vane, C.B., C.M.G., Mr. F. Stoker, C.B., Mr. Alexander Porter, C.B., Mr. G. G. V. Tamm, Mr. E. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Lady Muir MacLennan, Mrs. Kenworthy, Mr. T. G. Maracaa, Mr. M. Zahmeddin, Mr. G. Sengh, Mr. B. H. Fakir, Mr. T. W. Arnold, C.F.R., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. F. Brown Mundy, Mr. Payne, Mrs. Hoffmeister, Mrs. White, Miss G. A. Jones, Mr. J. Villiers Stuart, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. Day, Mrs. Goddard, Mr. C. S. Light, Mr. Adair, Mrs. Mackay, Mrs. Wileby, Mr. James Cotton, Mr. M. S. Shihnam, Mr. Shivdasani, Mr. J. Mathur, Dr. Bhadra, Mr. M. S. Sen, Dr. Rao, Mr. G. L. Pillai, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. J. Wherry Williams, Mr. Aubrey, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. M. W. Hassanally, Mr. G. Mananthe, Mr. T. J. P. Bremer, Mr. Teja Singh, Mr. M. Anwar ul Azim, and Dr. Louis Pollen, C.M.G., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, perhaps you will not think it inappropriate if, before I say anything about Mr. Havell, I say that no meeting of the East India Association ought to be held at this moment without recognizing the great services to the Empire that the Indian troops have just rendered. Those of us who have been deeply interested for years in India feel that the action, loyalty, bravery and endurance of the Indian soldiers at this time is a matter for the highest admiration and the greatest pride. I am sure we look upon the achievements of the Indian soldiers as something that means possibly in the future a great advance in progress for the Indian people as a whole.

I have to take the chair for my friend Mr. Havell, who is to lecture to us upon 'The Foundation of Indian Economics.' I, and I dare say most of those here, know Mr. Havell's point of view, and probably will have already read his lecture; if so, I think you will agree with me that there is likely to be a good, and possibly a warm, discussion at the close.

When Mr. Havell gets on the war-path the Indian official has to look out. Though I say it with the greatest deference and admiration for the Indian official, I am sorry he does not get more criticism from the House of Commons ; and I am very glad, therefore, as one who tries in a modest way to take a critical attitude, quite dispassionate, of course, in the House of Commons, to recognize in Mr. Havell a critic of very great power and importance outside. Mr. Havell, of course, stands in the front rank of the writers on Indian art. To me he is the Ruskin of Indian art, for this reason, that Mr. Havell, with a profound knowledge and appreciation of the various types of artistic expression in India, realizes that they cannot be understood without reference, on the one hand, to the social life of the people, and, on the other hand, to the economic conditions under which they have arisen, and under which India now is. Moreover, just as Mr. Ruskin's writings form, to any intelligent person who visits Florence or Venice at the present day, the very best guide, something that makes those glorious cities of Italy live again with new interest and charm, so anybody who goes, as I have gone as a visitor, to Benares and Agra gains an immense amount of pleasure from having Mr. Havell's book under his arm to read and to look at as he wanders from one beautiful sight to another.

I will not say more about Mr. Havell now ; possibly, when others have criticized or endorsed his views, I may try to say a few words myself. But seeing here as I do so many gentlemen of great experience and authority on Indian affairs, I shall leave them to speak after the lecture, and if I have a few remarks to make, perhaps I may be allowed to make them at the close. That course will have, at any rate, this advantage, that I shall not try to crush anybody, and nobody will have the opportunity of trying to crush me.

I have great pleasure in calling upon Mr. Havell to give us his paper on "The Foundation of Indian Economics."

Mr. Havell read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN : I have pleasure in calling upon the Honorary Secretary to read letters from Sir Arundel Arundel and Mr. Moore dealing with the subject of Mr. Havell's paper.

March 21, 1915.

I am victimized again by a cold, and must keep indoors for a few days and not venture to town for our meeting to-morrow.

Please tell Mr. Havell I am sorry I shall not hear him, but I have read his very interesting and original paper.

I think that some of his criticisms on the modern economists might also be levelled at *Western* civilization and so-called progress. But for this the nations of Europe would not now be grappling one another in a death struggle between millions with all the scientific engines of war to enable man to destroy his fellow man.

Jean Jacques Rousseau sounded the note of revolution with his prize essay : "Has the Progress of the Arts and the Sciences contributed to Corrupt or to Purify Men's Morals ?" He decided that the influence of

civilization was to corrupt and not to purify. Would Mr. Havell agree with him?

• There is little enough of encouragement to be found in the history of dead civilizations. Is the world any the better for the civilization of the Hittites, of Nineveh, of Babylon, of Egypt?

(Signed) A. T. ARUNDEL.

March 21, 1915.

I regret that a business engagement will prevent my attending the council meeting on March 22, and the subsequent reading of Mr. Havell's paper.

I have read the latter with interest, but can scarcely credit the existence of the fine system of roads connecting villages under the Hindu Raj in some golden age of the past, nor can I envisage the village weaver beating, by means of a supply of electric current, machine-run factories.

The lecturer seems to me to have an artistic imagination, though I agree with him that the village community should be redeveloped—an improvement rendered possible by the spread of co-operation.

(Signed) R. A. LESLIE MOORE.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased to say that I have a number of names of possible speakers. I hope they will all speak, and perhaps others besides those who are on this list which is before me. I am afraid I do not know sufficiently their respective points of view so as to be able to call upon them in such order that they would reply to each other, which is, I suppose, the most effective way of arranging, and so eliminating one another mutually. I have the names here of Sir Daniel Hamilton, Mrs. Villiers-Stuart, Colonel Yate, Mr. Gurmuth Singh, Mr. Zahur-ud-udin, Sir Frederick Lely, Sir William Duke, and Mr. Coldstream. I am sure we shall be very glad to hear them all, though not at once.

SIR DANIEL HAMILTON said that Dr. Pollen was good enough the other day to let him have a copy of Mr. Havell's paper, which he had great pleasure in reading. He agreed with him entirely when he says that the welfare of India depends upon the preservation and development of its village life.

I like the quotation from the Mahabharata with which Mr. Havell opens his paper: "The Heavens are centred in the ethics of the State." One can, of course, quite understand the attitude of Government in the matter of religion, and the necessity for holding the scales even, but it is to be hoped that some way of embodying the Heavens in the ethics of the State may yet be found; for a Government which stands aloof from religion is more or less out of touch with the spirit of the East, and the spirit of the East stands for a very great deal.

As regards the application to India of the industrial economic system of the West, I may say that I have not read Sir Theodore Morrison's book, but the quotation which Mr. Havell gives in the second page of his paper would seem to condemn the system. Sir Theodore says: "Whatever may be its defects on the moral side, whatever the dangers of physical deteriora-

village communities. She fully agreed with all the lecturer had said, especially with his reminder that economics, like art, must be looked at from the standpoint of the nation concerned ; and art, to be a living force within the British Empire, must prove as adaptable as the systems of Government, as various as the climates, the religions and the laws with which it has to deal.

The CHAIRMAN : I have great pleasure in asking my colleague in the House of Commons, Colonel Yate, to speak. I know that he has views on this and on every subject, and he has the ability always to express them.

COLONEL YATE said that the point that was in his mind at the moment was that he was obliged to disagree entirely with views expressed by the Chairman, who had said at the commencement of his speech that he wished that Indian officials could get more criticism in the House of Commons. He did not think that the House of Commons was the best place for criticism of the officials of the Indian Government, and he had been compelled to listen to so much very ill-informed criticism there as it was, he certainly did not wish for any more. However, as the Chairman had remarked that he was not going to allow anybody to crush him, and also that he was not going to crush anybody else, he (the speaker) hoped, therefore, that, despite this divergence of opinion, he would be able to survive the conclusion of the meeting. The Chairman had also stated that they were there to criticize the paper which had been read, but personally he could not criticize it because he was sure that all who were present agreed in the main with the principles inculcated in the address which the lecturer had given. Everyone present wished to see the encouragement of village life in India, and would do everything possible to increase its vitality. The lecturer had referred to the railways, and how they had disturbed the old economic system of India, and said that the great problem of the future was to use these new economic forces more effectively for the restoration of the vitality of Indian village life, and he was sure that everybody present cordially endorsed that sentiment. The speaker would like to endorse what Sir Daniel Hamilton had said about the value of co-operation, not only in India, but everywhere else. He thought Sir Daniel had paid a just tribute to the Co-operative Credit Societies in India, and also to the Civil Service officers who were in charge of those Societies. He was sure no one had done better work for India than those officers had in inaugurating and supporting this great movement. He had read of the success which had attended the Co-operative Credit Societies with the greatest possible interest. The speaker could thoroughly sympathize with Mr. Havell when he spoke of the Public Works methods in India. The lecturer had stated that Public Works methods were ruinous to Indian handicraft. He thought that those who had a recollection of the ordinary official bungalow in India would agree that the Public Works architecture had not shone hitherto in a way they would like to see. He could look back with pleasure to the beautiful buildings which had come down from ancient times, especially in the Native States, with which he had been so long associated, and he hoped the Indian Public Works Department would take a lesson from the handi-

craftsmen of the country, and try to put up better buildings in the future than they had done in the past. The subject of native indigo and madder, which was quoted by the lecturer as an example of the neglect of India's resources, was a difficult one. No doubt during the present year as much indigo and madder as could be grown in India would probably be taken by England, but a few years hence, when the present war had come to an end, so long as synthetic dyes could be produced cheaper than India could produce indigo, the Native dye industry might die out again. He thought that these questions could not be settled in a few sentences, as the lecturer had disposed of them to-day. He noticed on the concluding page of the paper the lecturer had referred to the School of Oriental Studies, and had expressed his hope that Indian economics would be studied there; but, so far as he knew, and he had taken some share in the movement for the establishment of this institution, the school was for the study of Oriental languages, and not for the study of Indian economics. He would conclude by saying that they were all deeply indebted to the lecturer for bringing the questions he had touched upon prominently forward, and that all would wish to do everything in their power to help forward the question of the restoration of the vitality of village life in India.

MR. GURMUKH SINGH said that he was somewhat afraid to make remarks on Mr. Havell's admirable paper, on account of what he had said in it about Indian students who come to England to study the principles of economics, because they exactly applied to him.

He agreed that the social life of the villages in India required a great many improvements, but the lecturer had not suggested any practical way of attaining that end.

He did not see the good of roads which had become extinct long before the Moslem rule began. He did not think that the Muhammadan rulers neglected roads.

It had been stated that the great difference between English industry and Indian industry was that, while the former was carried on in large centres, the latter was still carried on in villages. He would venture to ask what was the condition of English industry before the coming of machinery. The condition of towns, and their superiority or inferiority to the villages, did not necessarily mean that villages were ideal places for the carrying on of the industry.

One of the first characteristics and advantages of modern organization as defined by Sir Theodore Morison (which seemed to form the basis of the argument of Mr. Havell's paper) was the interdependence of all parts of the industrial world upon each other. The Lecturer wanted to return to the old mercantile system, but the speaker was afraid he was too pessimistic. But he agreed that monopolies of producing certain commodities should not be allowed to rest with certain nations. The goods which could possibly be produced in a country should be produced there.

It had been rightly suggested that if proper attention had been paid to the dye industry in India, it would have been a great help to England and the Allies at the present time.

While advocating self-sufficiency, the speaker wanted to emphasize that it was no use to try to produce a commodity in a country which could not be profitably made there, and which could easily be obtained from outside.

It had been suggested that India should revive the village-industry system, and that machinery and the factory system were not good for India. He would admit that handicraft in India was successful in ancient times, but so it had been in every country. He did not see how India could commercially compete with her handicrafts with modern industries in other countries. No doubt the goods turned out by hand were better, but they could not compete, from the point of view of cheapness and of production on large scale, with machine-made goods.

He thought that the practical difficulty in making industrial progress in India was the lack of capital. A banking system at once sound and helpful was required. It could be perfected with the help of the Government; and not independently.

SIR FREDERIC LELY said that he was very pleased to see the importance of the village, on which he had been insisting all his life, was now so generally recognized. He thought that the lecturer was inclined to attribute too much to the action of the Government in these matters. The development of the industries of India from handicrafts into the mechanical system was really the work of the people themselves. When he first knew the town of Ahmedabad there were established two very small spinning-mills, and there were now about fifty. One of the two had been established entirely by a villager of the peasant class, who saw his chance of making a little more money by machinery rather than by handicraft. The only connection the Government had with the mills was that they took some of the profits in the shape of income tax. That example had been followed by man after man, and practically not a halfpenny of European money was invested in the mills of that city. The same could be said of Nagpur, and generally of Bombay, where nearly all the cotton-spinning and weaving mills were initiated and carried on by Indians alone. They were as indigenous to the country as the handicrafts.

MR. PENNINGTON said that he thought the question really to be considered was how the village industries were to be revived, an object he thought highly desirable. He thought it was the business of the women of India. A friend of his, a large mill-owner in the south of India, found it was quite useless for him to try to make cloth, because the women there would not have cloth woven in a mill. They insisted on having hand-woven cloth, so that he wisely confined his business to spinning, and now the local weavers are as prosperous as possible, simply because the women insisted on having cloth woven by hand. The Garden City at Letchworth has shown us how to combine the advantages of town and village.

MR. M. ZAHURUDDIN thought that the subject of the paper was a very controversial one. All the great industrial centres were manufacturing articles and sending them to the undeveloped industrial countries like India. The importation of necessaries on the whole was not good, as was proved by the present war. It was bad for the national strength; but in India there were not many industries which could produce on a large scale

the articles required for consumption throughout the country, and the people were obliged to take from foreign countries such goods as were required inside. Consequently, India's great need was to be economically self-supporting, through the development of her industries.

LADY MUIR MACKENZIE said that she had enjoyed visiting the Indian villages, and had wished that one could do something to help to brighten the lives and widen the outlook of the inhabitants. She thought the sanitary arrangements of the villages were not adequate, and hoped that some of the young men and educated women of India would go round teaching the people on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN: If there is no one who wishes to say anything further, I might just add a word. I should like to read one quotation from an Indian Government Report which I have been reading only to-day in the Library of the House of Commons. I think when I read it it will sufficiently answer my friend Colonel Yate, and will explain to everyone what I mean by the necessity of enlightened criticism on the official aspect of India; also it will bear out Mr. Havell in his contention that India, after all, has got to be understood and governed by Indian ideas, not by Western ideas. Every year the Consulting Architect to the Government of India sends in a Report, and this Report is placed in the Library of the House of Commons. It came in only last week, and I find, in describing the progress made on the Residency Building at Gwalior, this statement: "By inadvertence the work here was put in hand without the Office having supplied the customary full-sized details of the mouldings, ornaments, etc. On my return from leave"—it was due to the Consulting Architect being on leave that the full drawings were not sent—"I went to Gwalior in apprehension, but discovered that there was nothing in the detail (or hardly anything) that I could possibly alter. The craftsmen, finding the work designed in a manner which they understood, had entered fully into the spirit of it, and had developed mouldings and ornaments with a freedom and taste leaving nothing to be desired. As a result there is a degree of life in this work that could not possibly have been attained otherwise. The workers have taken pride and delight in it not found when they are merely set to copy from full-sized drawings. The lesson learned is one I need hardly point the moral of." Here we find suggestion and criticism offered in the most respectful manner to the officials of India: do not trouble about any more full-sized drawings; let the master-builders carry it out; you will do it quicker; you will please them; you will save a lot of labour and a lot of expense. I think that fully bears out the whole of Mr. Havell's point of view.

I am sure we are greatly indebted to Mr. Havell, and also to those ladies and gentlemen who have added so much to the interest and value of this afternoon by their criticisms and discussion.

MR. COLDSTREAM stated that the pleasant task had been assigned to him of offering a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, and for the sympathetic attention that had been paid to the various speakers. He had also been asked to offer a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer. He had not always been able to follow Mr. Havell in all his artistic appreciations and criticisms; but he recognized that the lecturer

had strongly directed attention to the spirit of Indian art, and had explained, in a most interesting manner, the method of its expression. No doubt they all deeply sympathized with the Indian handicraftsman. It had been a pleasure and a pastime of his life in India to admire his work, and in a humble way encourage him. He had observed that for many years past the Indian craftsman had been in a perilous position, and he would like to see him survive; but the problem was, How was he to survive? The speaker thought that at present it was a question of his being threatened by the almighty dollar. There was such a temptation to quick and cheap work. He would be glad to think that the co-operative system could be applied to strengthening the position of the Indian craftsmen, whether by co-operative guilds or co-operative banks. He thought that the Indian craftsman was getting into the hands of the middle-men and the large merchants, who exploited him for purely commercial purposes, and was beginning to scamp his work, and to turn out more than he could do well. He would be very much interested to see any means devised by which his survival and the survival of his beautiful and delicate handiwork could be accomplished.

MR. G. K. PILLAI said he had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks, and at the same time would like to say a few words on the subject of the lecture, as two of his compatriots had put forward views which were not his own, and those present might go away with the idea that theirs was the opinion of Indians as a whole, which was not so. He thought that his two compatriots had studied economics only from a Western point of view, an evil which the lecturer had referred to. It was good for students to come and study various subjects in England, but it was not right to take back Western ideas and apply them to Indian conditions. He thought there was a great lack of initiative with the Indian people nowadays, chiefly due to the insufficiency of knowledge as regards India. They always went to Government. Even if they wanted a school or an institution of any kind they went to Government and asked them to do it. He thought that more initiative should be displayed by Indians in every direction.

MR. TEJA SINGH, in supporting the vote of thanks, said he would like to make a few remarks on the points raised in the discussion. Colonel Yate blamed the Indian Public Works Department people for making plain serviceable bungalows, but he forgets that they have to keep down the expenses within the limits. Of course, if they had every scope in their estimates, they can easily put gold domes if required. He (Colonel Yate) had mentioned the artistic buildings of Native States, but I think many people would be down upon the States for spending a lot of money in structures, while forty millions of the people are in want of necessary food. The money and energy in India is required for things far more important than for providing artistic buildings.

The discussion on handicrafts as compared with machinery has been quite a novel one. It appears as if some gentlemen have been suggesting that a country like India should not develop its industry, while sticking to handicrafts and neglecting the aid of machinery. India is

producing the raw material, and sends it out of the country, and when the same material is returned to India made into the goods, more than twenty times its original price has to be paid for it. If the machinery was running in India, it would mean that this wealth of more than twenty times the value of the raw product of the country would not go out of it.

No doubt there are fine handicrafts in the country, but it would be a sheer waste of energy in sticking to do things by hand in the old ways, in competition to the machine-turned goods. There are some men in India who, up till now even, can turn out exquisite specimens of handicrafts; but these would be of no use, as there is no market for them at the price at which they would be turned out. It is machinery that is required in India, and the necessary capital—capital to create it on a fairly large scale, so as to exist in face of competition of well-established foreign manufacturing concerns.

MR. HAVELL: I must first of all express my warmest thanks to the Chairman and to you all for the kind and sympathetic way in which you have listened to my paper. The hardest thing said about it is Mr. Leslie Moore's remark that it showed artistic imagination. I am quite hardened to that kind of criticism by now.

There are only one or two criticisms which I need comment upon. I quite endorse what Mr. Pennington said about the work of Indian women in India keeping alive Indian industries and civilization.

I think the best advice I can give to the Indian students of economics who have criticized the paper from the English point of view, is to suggest that when they go back to India they should place themselves in the hands of the ladies of their families. I am sure they will then get a sufficient answer to the arguments they have brought forward.

Sir Frederic Lely's point was that one could not hold the Government wholly responsible for economic decay or progress in India; that this matter was in the hands of the people themselves. That I fully agree with. At the same time, I do think that the people of India have a right to look to the Government of the country for light and leading in these matters, and I fear in this respect the light has often failed them. There is the instance I quoted in my paper with regard to the official industrial statistics of India. Until 1901, when I called attention to the matter, the five or six million hand-weavers were not even mentioned; only the employes of the mills in Bombay and other places were entered to represent the weaving industry of India. Again, with regard to the building craft, which is another important industry, only two years ago I was told on the highest official authority that there was no such person as an Indian master-builder; that he was a figment of my imagination.

Colonel Yate argued that it is too late to attempt to revive the native dyeing industry. If so, this is only another illustration of a great opportunity lost. There are still the weaving and building crafts to be saved from extinction. Personally, I do not believe in this *laissez-faire* policy. I believe that even now, if half the intelligence, energy, and capital which have been devoted to synthetic dye products, were bestowed

upon the cultivation and manufacture of the natural indigo and madder, India might yet regain her former position as a producer of dye materials.

The main point of my contention is that our administrative policy in India should be a constructive one and not a destructive one. The increase of India's civilization should be like that of a tree which, when the winter is over and spring approaches, sends forth new branches from the parent stem. If the vitality of the tree is injured, healthy growth of any kind is retarded. The future of Great Britain is inseparably bound up with that of India, and when the war is over we shall have to decide other issues quite as vital for our national existence as that which are now facing us. We should not be content to regard the Government of India as exclusively a question for a body of experts sitting in an office in Whitehall, whose proceedings are casually reviewed by our Legislators on one or two days in the Parliamentary Session. It is a question which demands the united intelligence and the fullest interest and sympathy of the whole nation. We have much to learn from our enemies in the organization of national resources, intellectual as well as material; and from a purely material standpoint we cannot afford to waste them. Let us, in our own interest, try to make this country a great co-operative society for the better government of India.

The CHAIRMAN: I only wish to add my own thanks for the vote of thanks that has been given, and let me say in conclusion that I believe we shall all go away from here considerably enlightened from having had a very pleasant and profitable afternoon.

INDIRECT BENEFITS OF IRRIGATION NOT GENERALLY RECOGNIZED

BY HENRY MARSH, C.I.E., M.I.C.E.

IN 1905 I was appointed to Central India as Consulting Engineer for Protective Irrigation Works. My mission consisted in preparing schemes for the Feudatories of that Administration, and in pointing out where ancient works could be restored or improved. Previous to this employment I had spent my official life in the richly irrigated plains of the Punjab and United Provinces. There one could see the benefits to agriculture which resulted from harnessing the snow-fed Ganges and Jumna Rivers. Over and above this experience, I had the advantage of dealing with the storage works in Bundelkund, and the utilization of the streams in Rohilkund, Dehra Dun Bijnor, and the Tarai. Day by day as I toured in the drought-stricken tracts of Central India, I was more and more struck by the absence of the indirect benefits, which the British Provinces enjoyed on account of the existence of irrigation systems of all kinds.

With the object of bringing these matters home to the notice of the durbars of Central India, I wrote a short note on the same subject as this paper deals with. It was published in the *Agricultural Gazette*, and vernacular translations were distributed amongst the states. The note accepted the fact, that most people were aware of the millions of acres reclaimed by irrigation from the deserts

of the Punjab, Sindh, Egypt, and North America. It endeavoured to point out the fallacy that irrigation is merely useful in maturing crops throughout tracts of precarious, or light rainfall. Having done this, it proceeded to lay stress on the many indirect benefits which accrue to irrigated countries, even where the rainfall is fair to good. One particular point struck me especially in Central India. It was the complete absence of dew except in the neighbourhood of a tank, a stream, or some well irrigation. Colonel Pitcher, who had been Director of Agriculture in Gwalior for many years, informed me that he had experienced the same thought, when he took up work in Central India after prolonged service in the United Provinces. He believed that the dew springing from sheets of conserved water or irrigated land was a very important asset. He considered that it should be credited in the financial statement of a public works project. It was the cause of the growth of herbage and trees outside the actual zone of canal irrigation, and of inestimable value in a pastoral country. It also largely assisted in reducing the heat and aridity of the tract affected. It seems that in ancient times this fact was well understood by the Chandels who inhabited Central India. They were apparently a well-informed and industrious race. Water was rarely allowed to run to waste. Every drainage line was converted into a series of small lakes by suitable barriers, and this system was most beneficial in limiting the denudation of the country. When water is allowed to race off the fields in a country of rapid slope, subject alternately to great heat and tropical downfalls of rain, the useful soil is gradually eroded to rock level. In this way small drainages become deep ravines, and unfailingly convert river channels into huge crevasses. Hindoo Pundits told me that the good work of the Chandels was largely ruined by the inroads of fierce conquerors. Probably the latter intended to introduce a "kultur" of their own! Anyhow, many splendid dams and lakes were

ruined. Central India became a poor country, subject to excessive aridity and recurring famines.

If you will pardon a digression, the same story may be told of more recent times, and in regard to a European country. The Moors had carried out remarkable irrigation works in Spain before their expulsion in the sixteenth century. When they departed, the conservancy of water was greatly neglected. More attention was paid to the import of wealth from the new continent than to the prosecution of home arts and agriculture. This was a disastrous change, and assisted largely in the decadence of the Spanish Empire. Water was carried off so quickly that the supply became very scanty. There is a story, which may or may not be true, but it is very indicative of the want of this valuable element. A certain masonry work had been in progress, but was in danger of stoppage from want of water. It is said that the hidalgo proprietor arranged to tide over the trouble, by expressing the necessary supply of liquid from the grapes of his vineyards.

Having given this introduction, I will now proceed to summarize the unconsidered assets of irrigation.

They are as follows :

- (a), Power of substituting immediate sowings in case of destruction to advanced crops or harvests.
- (b) Diversity of cropping—*i.e.*, insurance against losses.
- (c) Maintenance of cultivation, and demand for labour throughout the season.
- (d) Presence of fodder, pasturage, and water for cattle.
- (e) Improved sanitary conditions.
- (f) General increase of comfort, well-being, and decrease of crime.

POWER OF SUBSTITUTING NEW SOWINGS IN CASE OF ACCIDENTS TO ADVANCED CROPS OR HARVESTS

The last two decades have afforded many melancholy opportunities of observing injuries to crops, which were

giving splendid promise of bumper harvests. In 1904-05 the autumn sowings had been unusually extensive, and the winter rains had benefited them to such an extent that prospects were exceptionally good. However, three or four days of extraordinary frost in the beginning of February, 1905, completely changed these happy conditions. All advanced crops were utterly ruined, and where the peasants had no irrigation facilities their plight was very serious. They simply had nothing to look forward to, until the following monsoon would enable them to sow kharif grains. In Bundelkund the rain did not come at all, and thus misfortune followed misfortune. The case was, however, very different with the irrigating tenants. The ruined wheat-fields were quickly ploughed into the soil, and sown with "zaid" crops—*i.e.*, "chehna" (*Panicum miliaceum*), vegetables, melons, etc. The cultivation of "chehna" proved to be a very sound enterprise, as it ripened in two months and produced five hundredweight of grain to the acre. Other tenants got the land ready for sugar, if they had the necessary manure. Others prepared it for April sowings of maize, juar, cotton, and hot-weather rice. Maize sown at this period produced cobs in July, and fetched ready money in the local markets. Early cotton plants were well advanced when the monsoon arrived, and were therefore not liable to injury from flooding. This form of cultivation is largely replacing the indigo of the Jumna and Ganges Canals, and requires every encouragement. It enriches the land and produces a better class of fibre. Irrigation was also the cause of other benefits in this phenomenal frost calamity of February, 1905. Fields that had recently taken water escaped almost entirely. I was Chief Engineer of Irrigation at the time in the United Provinces, and remember well having to run the canals, although the executive staff wished to have them closed for urgent repairs. The water thus given had a most beneficial effect in resuscitating crops that were seemingly killed by the excessively low

temperature. After a short period of, so to speak, hibernation, they recovered, and gave very fair returns. In Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpore, where frost is a common occurrence, the cultivators are constantly on the look-out for it in the winter months, and freely irrigate the young crops to prevent mischief. They attribute the protection to the thicker and stronger growth of the irrigated plant. This idea is similar to that held by cultivators of unirrigated soils. They rejoice exceedingly when propitious rains arrive before the frosty season. Experience proves that the young spring crop is much strengthened by the damp, and thus able to resist subsequent low temperatures. So far I have only dealt with the case of the calamitous frost in 1905, and have shown that the irrigating tenant was in a position to retrieve the losses by fresh sowings. But the same reasoning applies to other agricultural disasters. Hardly a year passes in which the gazettes do not record the devastating effects in some parts of the country from locusts, hail, or rust. In the report on the famine of 1895-96-97, it is stated that the drought of these years merely completed the agricultural ruin caused by the excessive winter rains in 1892-93-94. In the last-named seasons immense sheets of spring crops were destroyed by blight. Low-lying lands were too wet for cultivation. Even where the wheat and barley had ripened and had been cut, the unseasonable rain and storms damaged the grain on the threshing-floors. Independent of these well-known calamities, cultivators of tracts near forests or jungles frequently find their fields eaten up in one night by a herd of nilgai or deer. Here again the case of the owners is black indeed if they have no means of resowing crops until the following monsoon. I have recounted all these calamities to show how many trials beset a cultivator, and how speculative are his chances of harvest profits, unless he has the means of renewing his sowings without delay.

INSURING ADVANTAGES OF IRRIGATION (*i.e.*, DIVERSITY OF CROPPING)

All wise agriculturists agree in the advantage of cultivating a variety of crops—*i.e.*, “in not carrying all the eggs in one basket.” The Indian peasant follows out this idea in a rough way by sowing various mixtures, which is not always the best form of insurance, as it depreciates the market price of his grain. Thus rice and kodon, gram and wheat, peas and barley, are cultivated at the same time and in the same field. There are many other combinations, but the main idea is that dry weather will suit one plant and a rainy season the second; hence some measure of success may be expected. Where irrigation exists, the position of the cultivator is much sounder. Continuous and heavy rain, which is disastrous to cotton, millets, and cold-weather cereals, is advantageous to sugar-cane and rice. Without irrigation these valuable crops are rarely attempted, except in low-lying lands. This form of insurance is very sound, and is proved by the fact that remissions are almost unknown where sugar-cane and rice are cultivated and irrigated. They flourish mostly in damp, cool climates, but require water to mature them. Contrary to general opinion, it is in these climates that irrigation projects pay best. Proof may be given by quoting the following extract from page 87 of the Sarda Canal Project of 1903 :

“Hence the annual value of a cubic foot per second is much higher in the moist doabs of the Eastern Jumna Canal than in that of the drier and hotter country, watered by the Lower Ganges Canal. For the last five years they stand thus :

Value of Cubic Feet per Second.

			Eastern Jumna Canal.	Lower Ganges Canal.
			Rs.	Rs.
1898-1899	...	...	1,172	571
1899-1800	...	...	1,215	704
1900-1901	...	...	1,029	558
1901-1902	...	...	1,187	636
1902-1903	...	...	1,232	705

"It is also urged that the revenue will not develop as rapidly as is anticipated on account of the slow progress of the Agra Canal. Here again it may be pointed out that the great dryness of the country watered by the latter work has been a bar to the cultivation of first-class crops."

MAINTENANCE OF CULTIVATION, AND DEMAND FOR
LABOUR THROUGHOUT THE SEASON

These results of irrigation are very important, and are well understood by collectors who have held charge of protected and unprotected districts. In the former they know that agricultural operations never cease throughout the year; the labourers never have a slack time, and are continually ploughing, sowing, weeding, reaping, or threshing. Crime is greatly reduced, and in seasons of drought the demand for labour is all the greater. Examining the operations of the year, we find that in January and February the ground is being prepared for sugar-sowings, whilst the matured cane is being harvested and the juice expressed. The spring crop requires great attention. Weeding, watering, fencing, and keeping of marauding animals, occupy a number of hands. Harvesting of the rape or mustard is carried out in February. Picking the plants and expressing the oil absorb a good deal of labour. In March and April the cutting, carrying, and threshing of the spring crop is in full swing, and labourers are at a premium. Much difficulty is experienced in finding hands to hoe and tend young sugar. Moreover, the fallow land has to be irrigated for maize, cotton, juar, or hot-weather rice. In May the threshing-out is still often incomplete, and the young irrigated crops require much attention. In June, July, August, and September, if the monsoon is good, ploughing, sowing, and weeding occupy many people; early crops of maize and rice are cut and garnered. If, on the other hand, the monsoon is a failure, labour is in strong request to push on irrigation for sowing food crops, and for saving standing crops. October, November, and December are absorbed in sow

ing the spring crop, in irrigating it, and in completing the kharif harvest. Thus it is easy to see that in a well-protected country labour is in demand throughout the year. Peasants have little time to indulge in lawlessness, or in following out the freebooting instincts of their ancestors. For thirty-one years I served on the Ganges and Jumna Canal system, and though many famines and scarcities visited Upper India during that long period, I never saw a famine, and never saw famine labourers at work. Indeed, my great difficulty was to find hands to carry out the many sanctioned projects for new canal branches and drainage works. But during the short period in which I toured in Central India, I was brought face to face with grim starvation and aimless wandering in two seasons out of three. This is strong testimony to the policy of pushing on protective works. It is surely better to spend money in constructing canals, tanks, and wells, even though a productive return is not expected, than to await famine, distress, epidemics, etc., and spend large uneconomic sums in relieving the people. In the latter case the outlay is often greater, the country is pauperized, officials are overworked, and seldom do we find any permanent result arising from all the harassing trouble and strain on State resources.

PRESENCE OF FODDER, PASTURAGE, AND WATER FOR CATTLE

Those who have experienced a severe drought can hardly have forgotten the terrible mortality amongst cattle. I have seen thousands of the weary, emaciated beasts driven along the Bombay road towards Malwa in 1905 and 1906. Rain seldom fails in that country, and hence it has earned a great reputation as a place of refuge in times of famine. Similarly in 1899-1900 I have seen large herds driven from Rajputana and the Punjab to the Ganges khadir and the Kumaun Terai. In all these disastrous trekkings many losses were incurred, and bones of the wretched animals

lying along the roads were silent witnesses of the fact. Independent of these casualties, wholesale butchering was practised in some localities. At Kunch in Jalaun thousands were disposed of in this way. The owners sold them for a trifle, and the contractors made some profit from the skins and bones. The loss to the country must have been immense, and Government was obliged to advance large sums to the cultivators. Without this assistance, ploughing in the succeeding monsoon would have been seriously affected.

Where irrigation exists all this horror is avoided. Water is, of course, plentiful, and so is the straw of all the cereal crops raised by the canals. The banks of the channels afford a certain amount of grazing, whilst spring level rises high in low lands, and causes a plentiful growth of herbage. This latter point is very important. In the valleys below tanks, the grass is permanent and of great value. For miles below the embankments useful streams trickle along, and are a blessing to man and beast. The rise of spring level is also of immense use in rendering well-water accessible. This matter is, however, seldom realized, until a tank embankment falls into disrepair and the commanded wells become useless.

IMPROVED SANITARY CONDITIONS

Years ago it was thought that canal irrigation must be the cause of many forms of disease to which natives and Europeans are liable in a tropical climate. The belief bore good fruit in one way, as Government sanctioned large sums of money for the execution of drainage-works. Remedial measures in the way of reduction of excessive watering were also carried out. More branches and more distributaries were constructed, and this wise policy acted as an effectual safeguard against useless irrigation and water-logging. Cultivators who were accustomed to deluge their fields weekly are now fortunate if their turn comes once a fortnight or once a month in times of low volume.

This is all good for the land and for themselves. Still, one famous Sanitary Commissioner was rabid on the subject, and pressed the Local Government of the North-Western Provinces not only to close up some canals, but to desist from further extensions. When the case was referred to the Secretary and Chief Engineer for Irrigation, he pleaded that canal-irrigated villages would show a better return of health, than those of unirrigated villages in the same latitude. He considered this would be the case, as the inhabitants of the former were better clothed and better fed. Investigation proved that the Chief Engineer was right, and the matter was allowed to drop. Very little argument is required to show that, though fever may be caused by irrigation, the sanitary advantages far outweigh the disadvantages. Natives live largely on dairy products, and it is therefore necessary that milch cattle should have good drinking-water. Without canals, streams, or large tanks this essential does not exist. The conditions in which some beasts have to quench their thirst in offensive village ponds are no doubt a danger to the public. Milch cattle have power to pass off poisonous ingredients in their milk, and thus it is easy to conclude why many outbreaks of disease take place in drought-stricken tracts. A well-known case of this kind occurred in Gloucestershire some forty years ago, when a number of people were invalided by consuming the milk from a certain dairy farm. Subsequent investigation proved that the bullocks and heifers on the land were sick and dying, whilst the cows which produced the deleterious milk were thriving. This fact gave the clue, and it was then discovered that for the sake of salt the beasts had been licking a keg of poisonous paint which had been left in the meadows. The cows did not suffer, as they passed off the poison in the milk; the other beasts sickened and died. Very possibly similar reasons produced the terrible scourges of cholera which used to rage in the Meerut and Agra Divisions before canal irrigation was introduced. The memorial stones on the camping-

grounds, giving lists of officers and soldiers who died from the disease forty and fifty years ago, are strong proofs of this conclusion. Such epidemics seem to have quitted this highly irrigated part of the country, and it may be claimed that the immunity is due to the presence of the flowing water in the canals. Nothing is so deadly as a scarcity of potable water in a tropical country. It has been very truly said that more lives are lost in India from want of water, than from want of food. There is another great advantage in the introduction of canal water from the large rivers. Wells in Muttra and Agra Districts that used to be brackish have now become sweet. This is a great joy to the people, who used to struggle for vessels of potable water at the few wells which were not bitter.

GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY

In this paragraph an attempt will be made to indicate the general benefits which arise from the improved conditions already explained. The cultivators who are well placed as regards irrigation gradually reach a stage of assured financial stability. Though they may not obtain heavy harvests in years of drought, and though some crops may be lost by reason of various calamities, yet a portion of the sowings will come to maturity, and splendid prices will be realized. In this way the tenant clears off all debts, builds a better house for himself, keeps better cattle, and finds no trouble in marrying off his children. Altogether a better state of well-being is arrived at. Rents come in regularly, and instead of the headmen felling the mango-groves, new plantations are laid out and new wells are sunk. The population increases, the waste lands are reclaimed and brought under the plough. In time villages comprising a few huts will become quite large towns connected with centres of trade by roads or railways. The advantages derived by Government are most important. The land revenue becomes stable, and advances are not required to tide the tenants over bad seasons. The people

who were dacoits and cattle-lifters become respectable, law-abiding members of society. Instead of spending large sums in maintaining peace, the State has to consider schemes for roads, hospitals, and schools. The increased wealth of the people leads them to make long pilgrimages, and the facilities of travelling must exercise a strong educative effect. It has been said with considerable truth that, after all, a railway engine is the best schoolmaster. Railways themselves benefit enormously by the prosperity of the cultivators. The exports of produce increase by leaps and bounds, and returns do not fall off in irrigated tracts, as they do in unprotected countries. India is mainly an agricultural country; nothing is so necessary to her as the development of irrigation facilities, and prevention of the wasteful escape of river-water to the seas. Not only do these protective works afford food and occupation for millions, but the climate itself is modified beneficially. Intense aridity is checked, and healthful dews are created, which assist in the growth of herbage and trees. The monsoon rains descend on levelled fields covered with young crops, and the latter act as powerful agents in preventing denudation and limiting excessive floods in the main rivers. Mr. Buchanan, Under-Secretary of State for India, grasped the advantages of developing irrigation works, and impressed them on the House of Commons in his Budget Speech. He said: "There is no sphere of work in which the Indian Government has been engaged, which is more satisfactory to contemplate than that of the railway and irrigation works. . . . I have given notice of a Bill for renewing our power of borrowing money for railway, irrigation, and other general purposes, but I have not yet had the opportunity of introducing it. It is a measure, however, that will generally commend itself to the approbation of the House, and from it we may expect very excellent results will ensue. Everyone will recognize also that there is no part of our work which reflects more credit on us than the admirable irrigation work, large

and small, which has been carried out in recent years. It has been a help to our revenue, tending also to mitigate the condition of the poorest people in their distress. We intend to go on in the future in pursuit of that policy."

I am glad to say that this wise and far-seeing promise has been more than fulfilled. The capital grants for irrigation works have been largely increased, with immense benefit to the revenue of the Empire and to the protection of the people. Many proofs of this fact may be quoted; but I will only refer to one, and that is the traffic returns of railways traversing the irrigated plains of the Punjab and United Provinces. As each new canal system is opened, the railway revenue increases in a most noticeable manner.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, April 19, 1915, at which a paper by Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E., entitled "Indirect Benefits of Irrigation not Generally Recognized," was read. The Right Hon. Lord Macdonnell, G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., P.C., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Duncan C. Baillie, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagtree, K.C.I.E., Sir John Benton, K.C.I.E., Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., Lady Finney, Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, Mr. T. Summers, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mrs. Pollen, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. E. F. Allum, Mr. S. Preston, Mr. H. W. Reynolds, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. A. H. Garrett, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. Christy, Mrs. Collis, Mrs. E. E. F. Kinnier-Tarte, Dr. Durham, Mr. P. Kehrer, Mr. R. Sewell, Dr. and Mrs. Barker, Mr. V. S. Bhide, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Wilson, Mr. W. H. Moreland, Mr. J. Reid, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Colonel Newmarch, Mr. J. P. Jeejeebhoy, Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, Colonel Hendley, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. Duse Mahomed, Mr. E. B. Harris, Mrs. Phillips, Mrs. Strike, Dr. Bhabha, Colonel Lewry, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. B. N. Dod, Mr. Krishna Kurup, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mrs. B. Harte, Mr. F. Argyrides, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, my first duty is to call upon the lecturer to read his paper. It is unnecessary for me to introduce Mr. Marsh to you; as you all know, he is a distinguished expert on Indian irrigation, with whom I have had the honour of being associated for several years. I look forward with deep interest to the paper which he will now proceed to read.

Owing to the slight indisposition of the lecturer, the paper was read by Dr. Pollen.

The CHAIRMAN: I propose, ladies and gentlemen, to make a slight change in the order of procedure. I propose to call upon those gentlemen who desire to comment upon the paper, and to reserve for myself after the debate has finished the opportunity of making the remarks which I propose to address to you.

SIR STEPHEN FINNEY: I have hitherto been under the impression that the advantages of irrigation, direct and indirect, were familiar to most of us, but Mr. Henry Marsh's summary of its unconsidered assets indicates its value in some new and very important aspects; I am afraid, however, my experience only bears testimony to the obvious—the benefits which irrigation brings to the traffic of a railway.

Many of us are aware that the North-Western Railway of India was constructed for military purposes, and although occasionally, in the event of abnormally good rains, when the crops on unirrigated lands came to maturity and abundant harvests, it was called on to carry a considerable volume of traffic to Karachi for export, it was essentially a military line until the opening of the Chenab Canal entirely altered its character.

I was appointed manager of the railway in 1899 shortly after the completion of the canal, and when the line from Wazirabad to Khanewal was completed (in, I think, 1900) through the Canal Colony, there was, without much delay, an enormous development of traffic, and the gross earnings increased very rapidly. Up to 1900 they had averaged less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees per annum, the maximum being 3 crores 76 lakhs in 1898, when there was also a frontier expedition in addition to a good harvest. In 1903 the gross earnings were 4 crores 93 lakhs, 6 crores 16 lakhs in 1904, and 6 crores 95 lakhs in 1907, while the mileage of the line increased from 3,000 to 3,500 miles only in this period. My direct connection with the line ceased in 1907, but in 1912 the gross earnings were 9 crores 6 lakhs. I should, perhaps, say that some of this traffic came from the irrigated districts of the United Provinces.

And the increased earnings were not alone due to the wheat, seeds and cotton transported to Karachi; a considerable upwards traffic arose in piece goods, building material and other articles which were in demand on account of the prosperity of the colonists. And many of them were Sikhs from the Amritsar, Jullundur and Ludhiana districts, who added appreciably to the coaching earnings by travelling frequently to and from their homes.

To put the results in English money, the gross earnings were less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling in 1900, and more than 6 millions in 1912, the mileage having increased from 3,000 to 3,512 in this period; and with the completion of the Triple Canal project this satisfactory increase will become more marked.

This large development of railway prosperity is an indirect asset of the canals, and no doubt the success of railways in many parts of India is in a great measure due to the same cause.

SIR JOHN BENTON said the previous speaker had anticipated nearly all he had intended to say regarding the advantages of irrigation works to the railways of India. The lecturer attributed the lack of dew in Central India to lack of irrigation. It was true that about one-half of the water poured on the surface went into the atmosphere, and added to the vapour from which the dew came, but they should not forget that a good deal of aqueous vapour also came from the sea! With regard to the protective effect of irrigation on crops, it took a great deal more frost to reduce the temperature of wet ground to freezing-point than in the case of ordinary dry soil;

the wet ground took more cooling before it got to freezing-point than the dry ground did. The bad name which ill-designed irrigation works got was entirely due to conditions which did not occur now, such as drainage being blocked, pits being dug, and stagnant water forming, as a result of which malaria spread rapidly. That was now all changed. Irrigation works, instead of being a curse, had become an absolute blessing.

With regard to raising the subsurface water-level, previously there were, in the irrigated parts of the Punjab, vast areas where well-irrigation could not be carried out at all, but the level had now been raised and irrigation by wells was very successful and profitable. There were cases where originally the depth was 40 feet or more from the surface, and where it may now be only 20 feet, or even less.

The irrigation engineer was blamed if he caused water-logging ; but he was not really to blame, because his aim and his advice had been to spread out the water and to carry it farther down country, and not to give more to any given area than it could properly dispose of. Where this procedure was followed, it has been found that no water-logging occurs from irrigation. Leakage from channels calls for prevention or for drainage, and is a separate matter. (Hear, hear.) With regard to railways, all he would say would be that the Irrigation Department put down canals at great cost, and the sister Railway Department, while expending nothing on additional lines, might realize, from the increased traffic due to irrigation, nearly as much additional net revenue as the canals received. (Laughter.)

MR. PRESTON: I read Mr. Marsh's paper with much interest, and he has certainly placed on record many indirect benefits from irrigation which are frequently overlooked. I am not sure that the list is complete, as in the Native States of Central India to which he chiefly refers there will certainly be other sources of revenue which cannot be credited to the irrigation schemes.

Then there will be a large increase from stamps of all kinds, due to the general increase in prosperity of the tract irrigated. A similar increase in excise and octroi will also take place, due to the greater requirements of the people.

Then in the case of a state like Gwalior, which owns a considerable length of light railway, there will be a large increase in the traffic, due to the larger quantities of produce exported. The receipts from all these are indeed directly due to the irrigation, and might be held not to fall under the head of indirect benefits ; but they are really indirect, because the money received will never be credited to the irrigation work, but to other heads of account.

I have myself been working for the past seven or eight years in Gwalior at tank construction and restoration for the conservation of water, and should like to emphasize much more strongly than Mr. Marsh has done the importance of one or two of the benefits of water conservation in Central India.

The first of these is the enormous advantage of the rise in the subsoil water as shown by the increase in the supply in the wells in the vicinity, and especially down-stream, of a tank, as well as of the small stream of

water which invariably flows in the drainage, due to seepage through or under the bund. Mr. Marsh alludes to this under the heading "Presence of Fodder, Pasturage, and Water for Cattle." But I can assure you from personal observation that the benefit is enormous, and is fully appreciated by the villagers for miles below a tank bund. Another point also alluded to by Mr. Marsh, but which deserves much fuller consideration, is the benefit to the country of preventing the rain-water from tearing away into the drainages. Every tank or embanked field made is doing something to counteract this. Not only is the valuable rain-water lost to the land on which it falls, but in rushing to the drainage it tears away all the best part of the soil, which is eventually deposited in the plains of Bengal, leaving rock and stones behind; so that the cultivator not only loses his water, but also a great deal of his best land. Anyone who has crossed Central India by rail must have noticed the huge areas of ravines bordering the large drainages. These have been all cut by the rain-water rushing off the high land to the drainages, and represent an enormous area of good land rendered absolutely useless for any purpose except to hide dacoits. The Chambul forms the northern boundary of the Gwalior State for a 400 miles. For one and a half to two miles on each side the country is thus cut into ravines, and I doubt if I exaggerate if I say that probably 1,000 to 1,500 square miles of country is at present covered with ravines on this one drainage alone. As these drainages deepen, the subsoil water is drained off, and existing wells dry up. If time permitted, I could show the effect of this in the case of wells I have actually measured. If evidence of the deterioration of the cultivation in Central India were wanted, it would be found in the enormous number of stone sugar mills lying about all over it where there is not now a stick of cane, and often right away in the heart of the jungle where there is not now any cultivation at all. These show that in the past water must have been available at a much higher level than it is now.

Mr. Marsh seems to be prepared to admit that irrigation causes fever. I am not at all prepared to agree with him. I do know that on the high dry lands of the "Bar" and the "Thal" in the Punjab the few natives living there before canal irrigation was introduced suffered just as much from fever as they do in irrigated tracts, and I believe that the tremendous range of temperature between night and day, especially when the people sleep on the ground clothed in cotton, has far more to do with fever than irrigation. It is well known that the drier the climate the greater the range of temperature, because the aqueous vapour in the air prevents the radiation of the heat from the earth at night, and the greater the quantity of moisture in the air the more the heat of the earth is retained. Should the soil become heavily water-logged by over-irrigation, as has happened in the Punjab and United Provinces, ill-effects may follow. Probably they do, but this would certainly not apply to the limited supplies available from storage work.

I am sorry that a larger result has not followed from Mr. Marsh's investigations in Central India. I venture to think that this is largely due to the fact that he took up too ambitious schemes. One of them,

from the Sindh River, is a splendid scheme estimated to cost between 90 and 100 lakhs of rupees. Unfortunately, of the commanded area 46 per cent. was in Gwalior, 46 per cent. in Datia, 5 per cent. in Indore, and 3 per cent. in British territory. Gwalior could and would have found the money for its share of it, but Datia has not sixpence, and the political difficulties are so great of working between states that I see little chance of this scheme being carried out.

During the time I was in Gwalior—i.e., from December, 1906, to 30th June, 1914, the Durbar sanctioned estimates amounting to 147½ lakhs of rupees. The works comprised 900 tanks, 35 stop dams, and 122 wells. But an enormous number of these tanks were very small works, often only the restoration of an old work which had got into disrepair, but collectively they will do an immense amount of good, and the aggregate area of irrigation in Gwalior in the future should be considerable.

The estimates sanctioned comprise one of 40 lakhs of rupees for one project alone; if this be deducted from the total, 1,057 works have been sanctioned at an estimated cost of Rs. 107,50,000. This gives an average of Rs. 10,000 per project. As several cost between 3 and 5 lakhs each, and many between Rs. 50,000 and a lakh, it is obvious what a large number there are that are only estimated to cost a few thousand rupees each.

The total storage capacity of these works is about 33,457 m. cubic feet, and the water surface when they are full is estimated at 150 square miles. This must have an immense effect on the country. I should not, perhaps, pursue this matter further, as it is somewhat foreign to the subject of the paper, but it seems to me interesting as showing what can be done with a large number of small schemes, and emphasizes my point that more practical good might have been obtained by the investigations in Central India if small schemes had been taken up.

In conclusion, I should like to quote a remark of Mr. Marsh's in one of the numerous notes he wrote—namely, that an acre of water in Central India is worth more than an acre of land. I believe this is very true, and I have often quoted it when people or the State authorities demurred to the submerging of good land by the construction of a tank.

SIR LOUIS DANE said that, as a more layman after so many eminent engineers, he felt to be somewhat in the position of "fools rushing in where angels feared to tread." However, he had been asked to speak on the lecture of an old schoolfellow. He could bear out from his own experience everything Mr. Marsh had said. There could be no doubt, when they got perennial irrigation established in the Punjab wastes, that dry cultivation in many places became possible; there were hundreds of thousands of acres of grain now cultivated without irrigation where there was no such cultivation before the canals were made. There was no provision in the Canal Act enabling them to deal with the problem of crops which were matured without actual irrigation from the canal, and they could only be touched at long intervals on revision of settlement. It was a loss to the administration, but as the people got the benefit of that cultivation, there was some set-off. When canals were made, a very considerable expense devolved on the local government in the shape of roads,

shops, hospitals, schools and things of that kind, although the local government got nothing out of the canals for a long time. He well remembered the difficulties of trying adequately to develop the great tracts under his control without much ready cash, and he tried to get the Government of India to see the reasonableness of a proportion of the profits derived by them at once in the shape of railway and customs returns from the Punjab irrigation works being made over to the local government. The answer was not altogether sympathetic, but eventually they were able to arrive at an arrangement for selling some of the lands which provided the necessary capital.

Mr. Marsh spoke of the serious damage done by the great frosts of 1905, and his own experience was that where the ground was irrigated, crops were stronger and better able to stand the frost than the crops upon the dry lands. He had good reason for remembering that particular frost, as they had arrived at Kabul in the middle of December in a blizzard, and they left at the end of March in a blizzard, and were able to boast of the luxury of a temperature in the East of 21 degrees below zero.

He was not prepared to go as far as saying that irrigation was never responsible for fever, because he knew of cases where canals had caused serious damage to low-lying tracts. What happened was that there was a leakage from the bottom and sides of the canals which found its way into low-lying depressions, and where that happened he was afraid canals often did serious harm; the people suffered from continuous fever, and he had known whole villages almost exterminated, but they were very rare cases, and the Administrators ought to keep their eyes open for such cases so as to be able to move the people and give them compensation wherever possible, because their suffering was caused as a result of benefits conferred upon people lower down the canal. The cases were few, and usually near the head of the canal where no irrigation was allowed, which made things harder. As a rule, however, he could fully confirm Mr. Preston's view that properly controlled irrigation caused no injury to health.

He was old fashioned enough to believe that agriculture was an empirical science, and that the truths of agriculture which had been handed down had generally got some sound foundation in fact as well as in theory; they knew now that leguminous plants planted in the soil fixed nitrogen, but the cultivator did not know why he grew gram and wheat together, although they were now told he was practising the highest form of agriculture, which enabled him to get a better wheat crop and keep the fertility of his land at a reasonable figure. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I must make upon you the same demand for forbearance and tolerance as Mr. Marsh has made, but unfortunately in my case I have no Dr. Pollen upon whom to rely.

I think we must all agree that the paper has been a most interesting one, and the discussion upon it has been to the point and exceedingly appropriate. (Hear, hear.) I expected nothing less from my friend and colleague Mr. Marsh; he comes from the most famous irrigation school in the world, the school which has furnished to Egypt a Wilcocks and a Garstin; a school which promises to bring once more into fertility the

regions of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The number of men of eminence in irrigation works, which the Punjab and the United Provinces have furnished to the world, forms a long roll of honour. North America, South America, Egypt, South Africa; in fact, wherever agriculture is making progress, there you find the services of Indian Irrigation engineers requisitioned. (Hear, hear.) It was therefore to be expected of Mr. Marsh that he would, in the hours of his relaxation, furnish us with such a paper as has been read to-day.

In the remarks which have been made, and in Mr. Marsh's paper, somewhat of a distinction has been drawn between Lift and Storage irrigation and canal irrigation. That distinction follows history. From the earliest times we are familiar with lift irrigation; in Egyptian remains you find the old system of lift irrigation pictured over 3,000 years ago. Wherever the Muhammadans have established themselves you find that irrigation by lift and by storage has been practised. Mr. Marsh referred to the great storage works which were made by the Moors in Spain, and generally, Eastern peoples were always alive to the advantages which irrigation by Lift and storage conferred upon agriculture. But it is only when we come to the English régime in India that Canal Irrigation assumed prominence in that country. There are, indeed, traces of a few canals dating from the Muhammadan times; but it is a question whether they were ever used for irrigation. At all events, I think we may say that the great school of Canal Irrigation in India dates from the time when Sir Proby Cautley, (a name never to be mentioned without honour,) undertook the Ganges Canal. Ladies and gentlemen, I well recollect the feelings with which I paid my first visit to the head-works of the Ganges Canal, and rode on an early spring morning from Hurdwar to Rurki. It was an enlightening experience for me; for previously my service had been spent in Provinces where there were no irrigation works, except the few which, in Lower Bengal, had been started without sufficient forethought after the famine of 1867. But in that morning's ride of ten miles I saw the great Ganges Canal, 70 yards wide and 15 feet deep, with a current of some four miles an hour, being carried across a river by an aqueduct, *under* another river by a tunnel, and across a river by a level crossing. (Hear, hear.) It was an illustration of the power of the engineer which made me regard him from that time forward (I do not say that I did not regard him before) with admiration and respect.

These great canals in Upper India were begun in the year 1840, long before railways in India were thought of. From that time to the present day, the expenditure upon Canal Irrigation in India, according to the most recent figures, does not, I think, exceed 45 millions sterling, while the expenditure on railways has already amounted to 370 millions. I wonder whether, if India were at the time governed by a purely native administration, owing no subordination to Western ideas, the 370 millions would not have been spent more largely in irrigation, and less on railways; whether the native Government would not have decided more largely in favour of irrigation. (Applause.) But the ferment of Western thought, the desire of freer communication, both in India and with the world,

outside, made altogether for the other way ; and it was manifest, after the Mutiny, that more rapid and cheaper means of transport was an economic and political necessity. But, in an increasing degree, railways have looked to irrigation as an important factor in the growth of traffic. Irrigation, as we know, has responded ; but I venture to think that there is one aspect of the irrigation problem which has hardly yet acquired its legitimate development. Until the famine of 1877-78 stirred the mind of the Government and of the people to their responsibilities in regard to the saving of human life in times of famine, there was no definite policy of protective works as contra-distinguished from productive. Then for the first time was the policy of protective canals and railways adopted. As to whether that policy has been given a sufficient development yet I feel some diffidence in saying in the presence of such experts as we have heard to-day, but this I may say, that not more than 400,000 acres have been covered by this system of protective works, and not more than £5,000,000 has been expended. These protective works are most necessary in tracts of country which cannot be reached by canals. In Bundelkhand, in the Central Provinces, with which I am familiar, the need for protective works is manifest ; and in this connection I sympathize with the remarks Mr. Preston made in regard to the provision of small protective works in the Gwalior State. I had the pleasure of knowing the Maharajah of Gwalior, and everything Mr. Preston has said of His Highness agrees with the conception I formed of his character when I was in India. (Hear, hear.) He regards the interests of his subjects, and in no native state in India with which I was familiar was there less danger from famine than in the State of Gwalior.

Everything that Mr. Marsh has said regarding the advantages of irrigation I can myself confirm from my own experience, but there was one striking illustration Mr. Marsh could have quoted, but which his natural modesty prevented him from doing. In the year 1896-97 the great famine of the United Provinces took place. It was preceded by a lesser failure of crops, though even then in certain portions there was an absolute failure. The City of Agra and the whole of the neighbouring tracts were denuded of crops, and the administration was faced with the problem of supporting the laborous population of the city. It was recommended to me by the then Commissioner of Agra that good might be done, and the amenities of the capital greatly improved, if the unsightly sandy wastes about the fort and the Taj were turned into a park. The idea was attractive, but without water it was impossible to realize it. The Jumna, it is true, ran quite close, but many feet below the country's level. I might say, in passing, that on one occasion irrigation had to be stopped from the Great Jumna Canal in order that the waterworks at Agra might be allowed to take from the river sufficient water for their requirements. An appeal was made to Mr. Marsh to make a branch canal from the main canal some fifteen miles distant. He at first demurred, but finally he entered zealously into the scheme, and in a few weeks, labour being diverted from the famine works, the canal was made, with the result that shortly there was a perfect transformation of the whole of the surroundings of Agra. Now the thing which

clings most to the memory of the visitor to Agra is the beautiful park and gardens which exist where previously there was a mere sandy waste. When our present King and Queen (then Prince and Princess of Wales) were in Agra the head of their staff communicated to me their Majesties' complimentary opinion that among the remarkable performances of Englishmen in India the creation of the Agra Park held a foremost place; and that was very largely due to my friend Mr. Marsh.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think I need detain you any longer, but there is just one point I should like to mention. It is this. From productive irrigation works, taking India as a whole, the Government of India derives a revenue of nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the capital expenditure. On protective works no income is derived; they do not even pay their cost of maintenance, and I think the return upon capital is something like $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But from productive and protective works taken together, the return is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the capital. It appears to be open to question whether a great department of Government ought to take from the cultivators of the soil such a high revenue as this. We have it on the statements of many distinguished engineers, whom you have heard to-day, that not only from irrigation does the Government derive a large interest, but also indirectly from the great traffic which the irrigated areas supply to our Indian railways. If we take into consideration the double source of income, it seems to me to be worthy of consideration whether there should not be an abatement of the water charges in favour of the cultivators in irrigated areas. (Hear, hear.) If some canals work at a loss, the great number work at a high profit, and on the whole the income is so great that I think a reconsideration of the charges a reasonable thing to suggest. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, I beg to thank you for the great kindness you have shown in listening to what I have to say.

MR. MARSH acknowledged the very kind remarks which Lord Macdonnell had made regarding his work in India. He thanked, also, the gentlemen who had discussed the paper with so much ability.

It had been remarked that the irrigation rates might possibly be reduced with advantage, but before doing so it would be well to consider the rates in other countries. In Egypt the average rate is about £2 an acre; in British India the charges per acre vary between 1s. and 7s.

Mr. Preston had remarked that the Sindh River Irrigation Project, costing some 92 lakhs, which the lecturer had compiled, was an excellent one, but was too grand and too expensive for Central India. Regarding this contention, Mr. Marsh stated that the Government of India had particularly directed him to give his attention to arterial projects, covering large canals, running through several States. He had prepared two other large schemes as well as the Sindh River Canal, and he considered the policy of the Government of India was right.

Although there seems to be great difficulties connected with the States agreeing amongst themselves, yet in time obstacles will disappear, and the canals will be made. Wherever there is water and good land that can be commanded by canals, the construction will come in time, as in other cases. The petty jealousies of Durbars cannot stop the progress of

civilization and the protection of the people. Fifty years ago people did not believe it would have been possible to have arranged for the splendid irrigation works now existing in Egypt; yet they were carried out in spite of great international jealousies, and in spite of the blighting effects of the Turkish suzerainty.

Mr. J. B. PENNINGTON writes: Our proceedings on Monday were so unexpectedly closed down that I had no opportunity of making the few remarks I might perhaps have ventured to make on what has always been to me the most important and the most fascinating subject in all India, and I must say it seemed to me an astounding thing to discuss Indian irrigation without even mentioning the name of Sir Arthur Cotton and the famous old native works in the South of India where he learnt the art of making what we call "anicuts" (weirs), and which were in full working order long before we even set foot in the country.

No one has a greater admiration for the work of our irrigation engineers than I have, but down south we used to think that their work was defective in drainage as compared with that of their native predecessors, whether or not such defective drainage was a cause of malaria. In the old system the fields were slightly terraced, so that the water flowed gently from one field to another and so back into the river without stagnation anywhere.

I might have added that the old native "anicuts" were beautifully constructed works of art, though no doubt the water was not so scientifically regulated as in modern works of irrigation. And certainly in no part of the world has irrigation been more successful from the pecuniary point of view than under the Tambraparn, (a river the very name of which was probably unknown to most people in the room), where the assessment averages over Rs. 10 on 100,000 acres and runs up to Rs. 22½, say 30s., an acre.

THE JAPAN SOCIETY

ON April 14 Mr. Naoshi Kato read before a well-attended meeting a paper purporting to expound "Eastern Ideals and the Japanese Spirit." Such a subject requires comprehensive philosophical treatment, and we must confess to a feeling of disappointment at the general trend of the paper, as well as at the rapid survey of the creeds of Japan which form the bulk of it. The author, apparently unaware of the fact that papers on Shintoism and on Buddhism have been read before the Japan Society before, gave a synopsis of those religions, bringing forward nothing that ought to be new to anyone taking an intelligent interest in the Japanese civilization. Further, some of his statements appear to us to be open to discussion, if not to challenge. He says that Shintoism was evolved from the inner consciousness of the Yamato tribes. That is a dogmatic proposition which would be hard to substantiate. It presupposes that the Kiushu immigrants had no part in the shaping of the Shinto doctrine, and it ignores altogether the influences of Korean and Chinese beliefs which can be traced in that religion. It also makes a clean sweep of the religious ideas, however crude they may have been, of the tribes which the Yamato displaced in their conquest of Japan. Shinto is not a primitive cult, notwithstanding its polytheism, and its absence of images of those divinities which make its pantheon somewhat cumbersome. It is, in Aston's words, a "religion of gratitude and love"; it has

an elaborate ritual as a compensation for a scanty literature, and its decay under the influence of the Buddhistic invasion of Japan is probably responsible for it being so little understood. Again, the author evinces a dislike of Confucianism because he objects to the absence of a personal God in Confucian philosophy. Buddhism does not wholly appeal to him because of its absence of finality in the conception of eternal life after death. But Mr. Kato is one of the few thousands of Japanese who have embraced Christianity; he is the editor of a paper—the *Japanese Christian Herald*, so to say, published in Osaka—and one has to bear this in mind when trying to follow the trend of his paper. Riobu Shinto, the pious device which Aston calls a pious fraud, whereby Buddhism was grafted upon Shinto as a means of transition between pure Shinto and pure Buddhism, is neither more nor less than a missionary artifice, the parallel of which is indeed to be found in the ready manner in which Christianity adopted for its own purposes the festivals of the gods of ancient Rome, or of the countries in which it first developed its corpus of ritual and ceremonial. The author, like all Christians, forgets that Buddhism itself has been wholly “cribbed” by the Christian scribes, a fact of which he was happily reminded in the discussion by Mr. J. Carey Hall, late H.B.M. Consul-General in Japan, who, as a learned scholar and student of comparative religion, could give the support of his knowledge to the comparative work of Edmonds and Anezaki on the parallels between the Christian Gospels and the Buddhist Scriptures. The main part of the paper is a rapid exposition of the Zen doctrine, and not altogether a satisfactory one either, although the author availed himself of Kaiten Nukariya’s book, “The Religion of the Samurai,” for some of his facts. From that book he appears to have taken almost verbatim the Parable of the Monk and the Stupid Woman, a well-known illustration of the Buddhistic abstraction leading to the forgetfulness of one’s own very existence, though a somewhat far-fetched and more amusing

than convincing one. Zazen had its effect upon the Japanese mind; it developed self-control and abstraction of self through contemplation and thought, *coupled with the feudal state of the nation up to the Meiji era*, yet it was evolved from the most intolerant and polemical of teachings. Zazen recognized three steps in the training of one's mind, and five ranks of merit in mental uplifting. The latter are illustrated by ten pictures of Kwoh-Ngan, a Chinese monk, in which a child is made to seek a cow, to find it, to catch it, to tame it, to forget it, and, later, to forget his own self. But those pictures do not accurately coincide in their sequence with the five ranks of merit; they are described in the haziest possible manner by short poems, the appositeness of which is none too clear, and of which Mr. Kato gave translations different from those of Nukariya. Mr. Kato went further, and compared the teaching hidden in them with other ideas expressed by Chinese philosophers such as Chwang Tsze, and Christian theologians such as St. Paul and St. Augustine. But we doubt whether he has really given us a key to Eastern ideals. What he suggests is that the material structure of the East—bone, body, muscle, sinews—has been provided in Japan by Shinto, Confucian philosophy, Taoism, Buddhistic sects galore, the Zen in particular, but that it lacks a *soul*, and, although he wisely conformed to the expressed rules of the Society in introducing no polemical matter, the hint is broadly spread that Christianity is to be looked to for the extemporization of that soul. Moreover, he distinctly expresses the wish that *individualism* should promptly replace in Japan the *altruism*, the effacement of self, which characterizes the Zenist ideal. There we must differ from him, much as we look upon *individual exertion* as desirable—nay, wholly necessary. We yet look upon it as a means to effect a general improvement of social relations, as a means to uplift the human creature, and we think that in Confucian ethics, in the mere doing of that which is right without any desire for an ultimate reward, there is more than in the

emotional tendency which Mr. Kato apparently advocates for the individual to put himself and his personal future first. Circumstances have altered, feudalism is no more; but excessive individualism would be as great a mistake as wholesale socialism. If Mr. Kato looks to Christianity to bring a state of things happier than that which prevails in Confucian or Buddhistic communities, he courts disaster. China has no workhouses; the patriarchal system renders this Christian institution unnecessary. China had old age pensions before Protestant Europe, and it possesses *in fact* a knitting together of the family unit which we have only in theory. Moreover, as Mr. Carey Hall pointed out, the most intelligent and scholarly of the Christian missionaries are better Buddhists than sound Christians after they have studied Buddhism in the lands where it flourishes most—in China and in Japan. And why? Because Buddhism appeals more to the reason than to the heart—that organ “*qui a des raisons que la raison ne connait pas*”—and, further, the more educated amongst the Chinese and Japanese have outgrown Buddhism, to return to that calm philosophy of Confucius, the nearest approach that the East offers to cold-minded Positivism.

SHOSANKEN.

THE LIFE AND POETRY OF SHEIKH HAROUN ABDULLAH, A TURKISH POET

BY HENRI M. LÉON, M.A., PH.D., F.S.P.

WITHIN the last few weeks certain statesmen, in the fervour of their political zeal, and in justification of the policy which has resulted in the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire, have given prominence to the fable that the Turks have either no literature, prose or poetry, or that such as they possess is wretchedly crude, very poor, and extremely small in quantity, and certainly unworthy of any race claiming to be numbered among the cultured peoples of the world.

Ottoman literature, far from being either poor, crude, or small in quantity, is, on the contrary, very extensive, and not unfrequently highly polished. This is especially true of Ottoman poetry.

Unfortunately but few English people have any knowledge at all of the Turkish language, and of those few who have some slight acquaintance with the Osmanli tongue still fewer have either the time, inclination, or ability to read, comprehend, and render into English even a few fragments from the rich store of Ottoman literature.

It is, therefore, the ignorance of the Briton, and not the Osmanli lack of literary ability, that is to be blamed for a want of knowledge of Ottoman literature and an appreciation of its beauties.

The art of poetry has always found ardent admirers and skilful artificers in the Ottoman Empire. Each generation of Turks, from the moment that the little band of forty courageous Osmanlis crossed the Bosphorus in a raft, and first set foot on the soil of Europe, until now, has produced a not inconsiderable number of true poets, the majority of whom have left behind them prolific evidence of their high poetic gifts. The *Kelek ghazel* (sometimes called the *Sal shargissi*), or "Raft Song," penned by Ghazi Abdul-Fazil (one of the little band of heroes who formed the crew of the raft) in the year 757 of the Hegira, corresponding with the Christian date of 1356, contains some soul-inspiring martial verses, and is to-day still admired, read, and recited in Turkey.

The year which saw the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (A.D. 1453) also witnessed the production of poems written by the conqueror, Ghazi Sultan Mehmed Khan II. ("Mehmed the Conqueror") himself, and heralded the advent into the field of poetry of two gifted poetesses, Zeinab Khanoum and Mihree Khanoum, each of whom wrote some exceedingly charming verses. "The Song of the Birds," composed by Mihree Khanoum when she was a girl of but fourteen years of age, is still treasured by the Turks as a precious poetic heirloom.

In the reign of Sultan Sulieman the Magnificent (Hegira 926-974; A.D. 1520-1566) flourished that truly great Osmanli poet, Fuzuli Baghdadi, termed by the Turks the *Birindji mum*, or "first candle" of Ottoman poetry. The *Ikindji mum*, or "second candle," was Nefi-Erzeroumi, who lived during the reigns of Sultan Ghazi Ahmed Khan evvel (Hegira 1012-1026; A.D. 1603-1617) and his successors. The end of this truly great poet, but indiscreet man, was tragic, as he was summarily put to death in the year 1045 of the Hegira (A.D. 1635), in the reign of Ghazi Sultan Mourad Khan IV. Tradition states that he was taken to the place of his execution seated in an ignominious posture upon an ass, his face being turned towards the animal's tail.

A poem termed the *Eshokia*, or "Ass Poem," still exists, which, tradition asserts, was recited by the unfortunate poet to the crowd, which had assembled to witness his degradation, as he was being thus ignominiously borne to the place of his execution.

About this same period flourished another Ottoman poet, named Sheikh Haroun Abdullah. He is said to have been born in Broussa in the month of *Nissan* (April) in the year 964 of the Hegira (about A.D. 1556). When, comparatively speaking, he was but a young man, he was attracted by the tenets of the Mevlevec Dervishes, and became a member of that eminent Order,* and ultimately attained to the dignity of Sheikh of the fraternity.

Shiekh Haroun Abdullah wrote a large number of short poems, some of which are extremely beautiful, and one grand epic poem, "Mahomed-ben-Cassim."

Some of his poems are decidedly mystical, and inculcate the tenets of the eminent Order of which he was so distinguished a member and expositor. The best known of these are *Nur-Ullah*, "The Light of God" (consisting of 26 lines, written in couplets), and *Tamsil*, "The Analogy," which consists of 34 lines. The former of these poems is undoubtedly primarily founded on certain *ayatin* of the 24th Sura of the Quran, entitled *An-Nur*, or "Light," revealed at Medina, which run thus :

"God is the Light of heaven and earth ; the similitude of His light is as a niche in a wall, wherein a lamp is placed and the lamp enclosed in a vase of glass ; the glass appears as it were a shining star.

"It is lighted with the oil of a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West ; it wanted little but that the oil thereof would give light, although no fire touched it.

"This is light added unto light ; God will direct unto His light whom He pleaseth."

* The order of Mevlevec dervishes was founded by the celebrated Molânâ Jellal-ud-Deen Mahomed el Balkhee, who was born sixth Rabi-ul-evvel, A.H. 604 (A.D. 1202), or about 157 years before the Turks set foot in Europe. The Mevlevec are commonly denominated by foreigners the "Dancing or Whirling Dervishes," from the peculiar nature of the form of their devotional ritual.

It also incorporates in its teaching the *hadith*, or traditional saying of the Prophet Muhammed, "He who knoweth his own self, knoweth God," and gives expression to the doctrines contained in certain passages of the *Methnevee Shereef*—a work which the Mevlevee dervishes regard as the textbook of their order.

One of the Sheikh's poems, the *Dāymā Qapalı Qapassu*, or "Ever-Closed Door" (16 lines arranged in quatrains), contains thoughts which bear a striking analogy to some ideas contained in the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam (particularly quatrains 32, 65, and 66). Inasmuch as the poem of Omar Khayyam is 400 years older than that of the Sheikh, and as Persian poetry has always been popular in Turkey, it is quite within the bounds of probability that the writer of the *Dāymā Qapalı Qapassu* was acquainted with the *Rubaiyat*, and influenced thereby. This, however, does not detract from the beauty of his own poem. Like a skilful jeweller, he has so cleverly reset the gem in so elegant and appropriate a setting that its original beauty is enhanced and improved.

The Sheikh's poems *Payghambar ve Yahudi*, "The Prophet and the Jew" (34 lines, couplets), written A.H. 1020 (A.D. 1610), and *Acrimu-al-Hirrah*, "Respect the Cat" (30 lines, couplets), are both descriptions in verse of incidents in the life of the Prophet Muhammed.

Several of the Sheikh's poems are founded on well-known Turkish proverbs. *Her Kishi Yera*, "Every Man to his Place" (14 lines), and *Maydān*, "The Racecourse," are fair examples of this class of poem.

In *Al-Miraj*, "The Vision" (60 lines, couplets), the poet, to use his own words, "dreamed a dream, a vision of the night," in which he had the privilege of an interview with the Prophet, and was shown by him, as in a mirror, the whole earth and its inhabitants clearly portrayed :

"Monarchs I saw, likewise their subjects too,
Muslim and Kaffir, Nazarene and Jew,
Herded together, living cheek by jowl,
Their actions filthy, and their language foul ;

A king surrounded by a motley crew,
 Flatt'ers and pimps, but not a man there true.

* * * * *

My heart went cold as ice
 At what I saw, for all did seem to tell
 This was not earth, or if earth, earth was hell."

Filled with anguish and despair, the poet supplicates the Prophet to inform him what measures must be taken :

"To banish vice, to virtue give fresh birth,
 To banish hell, and heaven place on earth."

In answer to these queries, the Prophet replies :

"This world and all can be for ever blest,
 If men will learn to value what is best,
 And learn to strive, not for themselves alone,
 But each for all, and all for ev'ry one,
 Then on the earth, aye on this very ground
 Peace then shall reign, and Paradise be found,
 When in the world, all o'er the land and sea,
 Men shall be men, and men shall brothers be."

The scathing words of this poem bitterly offended the Court, and the Sheikh was banished from Constantinople and directed to permanently reside for the future at Aleppo. His banishment endured for several years, during which period he wrote his epic poem "Mahomed-ben-Cassim," in which he showed how the hasty acceptance, without inquiry in its truth, of a false accusation caused the Caliph Walid, in former days, to cruelly put to death one of his most loyal and valiant servants. The scorn and bitterness against the Caliph Walid which the poet effectively works into the speech of one of the female characters in this fine poem was probably but a reflection of the indignation which the Sheikh felt against the sentence of banishment passed upon himself. There are some exceedingly fine passages in this poem, including a stirring description of the combat between Mahomed-ben-Cassim and the Hindu king, and a touching prayer by Amina for Allah's protection upon her husband.

The Sheikh during the period of his exile also wrote

numerous minor poems, one of which will find an echo in the hearts of all of us to-day. It runs thus :

MUSSALĀHĀ (= PEACE)

‘Allah inviteth you into the dwelling of Peace.’ —KORAN, *Younus*, Sura 10.

“Grant Thou, oh Allah ! this my pray’r,
Upon the earth, that ev’rywhere
Mankind may with each other bear,
And lead a peaceful life ;
That they may truly Islam know,
More like Thy Prophet daily grow,
And live together, here below,
In love and not in strife.

“Oh Allah ! who doth all things know,
Who sent Thy Prophet here to show
How mankind could the better grow,
And strife and tumult cease ;
Oh Allah ! hear me when I pray,
That Thou wilt speedy send the day
When men shall cease to war and slay,
And shall abide in peace !”

The Sheikh’s gift of verse had occasioned his exile, but the same talent also ensured his recall ; for a poem of his, “The Coming of Ertoghrul,” having been brought to the notice of Sultan Mourad Khan IV., the poet, in the year 1048 of the Hegira (A.D. 1639), was again summoned to Constantinople, restored to favour, and loaded with honours. The Sheikh, who was then in his eighty-fourth year, did not long enjoy this favourable turn in his affairs, for the following year “his immortal soul was summoned by Allah to wing its flight from the earthly envelope in which it had sojourned for nigh upon eighty-five years.” His body was interred in the cemetery of Eyoub.

The Sheikh’s last poem was composed but a few days prior to his demise, and bears eloquent testimony to the feelings resting in the mind of this pious old Osmanli in the fast expiring eventide of his earthly sojourn. It is prefaced by one of the *ahadis*, or sayings of the Prophet Muhammed : “Sleep is the brother of Death.”

The poem is called *Uyugu vé qardashani olüm*, "Sleep and his Brother Death", and may be translated thus :

" Upon the just dawned world the new-born infant opes its eye
In wonderment, to gaze on what before it there may lie ;
Then weary of the sight, e'en tho' it be but e'er a peep,
Doth nestle on its mother's bosom calmly there to sleep.
The weary toiler from his work thro' hours that long did seem,
Exhausted, tired, and with his senses in a clouded dream,
With heavy limbs, dull brain, and eyes that open cannot keep,
To find sweet solace from his toil doth lay him down and sleep.
A pilgrim thro' the world, unheeding there its gifts or sneer,
I pass along the road, whose milestones mark, each one, a year,
Waiting the time when Allah shall in mercy call my breath,
And give me rest and peace in the calm tranquil sleep of death."

QUATRAINS OF "OMAR KHAYYAM"

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

These verses are line for line, and almost word for word, translations of the original Persian. The Translator has added nothing of his own, and has not presumed to meddle with the thoughts or imagery of the Persian Poet — J. P.

80.

Now vernal winds the World adorn,
And wreathed-in-rain fresh Hope is born ;
On boughs hoar-frost marks Moses' hand,
The breath of Jesus wakes the land.

81.

Each draught from wine-cup flung to Earth
Fills someone's anguished eye with mirth ;
For, God be praised ! thou knowest Wine
Sets free from pain this soul of thine.

82.

Each morn dew cheers the Tulip's face,
And bends the Violet's head with grace ;
But me the Rose-bud pleases best
Closely in clinging petals pressed.

83.

Friends ! when you meet together all—
Oh, then, with warmth this friend recal ;
And when the wholesome Wine you drink
Reverse my glass with friendly clink !

84.

Friends! when you keep the tryst you made,
And sport together in the glade,
When the Mugh-wine Cupbearer pours,
Then pledge this helpless friend of yours!

China—a hundred hearts and creeds—
One cup of Wine in worth exceeds;
Save ruby-Wine there's naught on Earth
Better a thousand sweet souls worth.

86.

Desiring Wine—Wife, Child forsake!
From kith afar thy dwelling make!
Whate'er it be that hinders thee,
Sweep from thy pathway ruthlessly!

87.

Bring ruby forth in Wine-glass clear—
Of all good men the comrade dear—
For, since we know Earth's surface—Dust—
Passes like wind, drink Wine we must.

88.

Come! physick bring—to heal the heart—
Wine's red and musk—these soothe each smart
An antidote for woe and pain—
Thou'lt find red Wine and Lute's soft strain.

89.

I watched a Potter pound wet clay
In market-place at dusk of day,
The clay in mystic accents cried,
"Soft! Once, like thee, that work I plied."

90.

Drink Wine ! It is eternal life !
The stock of youth with joy is rife ;
It burns like fire—yet sorrow, (think !)
It makes like Life's glad water—drink !

91.

Traditions spurn ! Commands forego !
The crumbs that fall on poor bestow ;
No heart with pain or anguish wring !
Then I can pledge thee Heaven. Wine bring !

92.

Rose-red is Wine. The Cup —may be—
Rosewater filled —or ruby, see !
Ruby in water melts, men say,
Moonlight may veil the Sun's bright ray.

93.

The vows we take with ease we break,
'Gainst name and fame doors fast we make ;
Blame not if I a fool do prove,
Once more I'm drunk with Wine of Love.

94.

No metaphor—but language proved—
Play-pieces we by Heaven are moved ;
Upon Life's chessboard pawns we be,
Pushed off into nonentity.

95.

Truth is Hyperbole. My heart,
Why thus with woeful shudder start ?
The shifting Times to Fate resign,
The Pen that wrote—rewrites no line.

96.

On Rose's face cloud-shadow falls—
Still lust for Wine my soul enthrals ;
Sleep not ! To sleep you've yet no right,
My Love, give wine ! Day still is bright.

97.

Shake off the dust against high Heaven !
Drink Wine ! To faces fair be given !
What time for worship this—or prayers ?
Once gone—no soul to Earth repairs.

98.

Like snow comes Dawn. The Winecup fill !
From ruby Wine learn colour still ;
Two logs bring in—to brightness turn !
Make one a lute—the other burn !

99.

To wanton life we turn once more,
Five prayers a day we now give o'er ;
Where goblets gleam we're seen again,
Like bottle's neck our necks we crane.

100.

To jar's lip close my lips I strained,
To ask how is long life attained ;
It pressed its lips to mine and said
" Drink ! for to Earth return no dead."

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

1. SVA. By Sir George C. M. Birdwood. Edited by F. H. Brown.
(*Lee Warner.*)

In the dozen of selected essays upon which Sir George Birdwood has set his own hall-mark of "Sva," we are to understand that it is the author's very self, *αὐτότατος*, ipsissimus, that speaks. These chosen messengers of a lifetime's studious research embrace a truly Aristotelian range of mental activities. From first page to last the book is erudite with the author's own learning, to which "himself" has given an even more intimately personal character by the use of word-forms coined in the mint of his own fancy, of which such scholarly conceits as "judgmatically," "misfortunately," "denotative," "perenduring," are fair examples. Were not the use of learned phrase and style more ornamental than structural, the reader might almost cry out with Moses of "The Vicar of Wakefield," his poor brains confused by the Squire's subtleties, "Hold, hold ! . . . I do not rightly comprehend the force of *your* reasoning ; but if it be reduced to one simple proposition, I fancy it may then have an answer." The author seems to have foreseen this likelihood, for he writes in the preface, "I feared that they" (the papers) "might be taken for a sealed book, which, when men deliver to one that is not learned, saying, 'Read this, I pray thee,' he sayeth, 'I cannot, for it is sealed'; and the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, 'Read this, I pray thee,' and he sayeth, 'I am not learned.'" But let the casual reader take heart : there is little of argument or close reasoning in "Sva" which is no collection of treatises but individual musings, learned only in manner, containing description and theory, gay, serious, humorous, or earnest, according to the mood of the moment. For all that Sir George Birdwood wanders with impartial familiarity through all the arts and sciences, and adventures over the uncharted seas of mythology as serenely as he travels along the trade-

routes of history, he returns always to the source and goal of a life's devotion—India.

"Aryan India, India of the Hindus," is the constant refrain, and it is in this spirit that the dedication is made to "The four Varna, 'Colours,' or 'Castes,' the ark of the soul of India of the Hindus . . . in testimony of the affection that glows within my heart for my motherland." The brilliant essay on Rajput history is written with the fervour and emotional zeal of a paean. No one could read this vivid sketch without being stirred to feel some of the epic splendour and pride of the heroes of Rajasthan. Notwithstanding occasional spontaneous tributes that Sir George Birdwood pays to Moslem spiritual culture, and his sincere appreciation of the wisdom and statesmanship of that greatest of all Mahomedan rulers, Akbar, it is as the lordly Hellene that he speaks, bestowing gracious recognition upon the Barbarian. To the author of "Sva" the Moslems are, and must remain, aliens in the land of the Aryan Hindus, in the same manner as the Parsis are there as exiles in a kindly foster-country. There is less perhaps of intellectual persuasion and more of subconscious psychological influence in this attitude than the author himself, maybe, supposes. The Mahratta country, Maharashtra, land of the patriot-hero Shivaji, is his birthplace, "dear to me as my native country," and Mahratta patriotism, a thing of passionate intensity, counting the presence of the Mohammedans "not simply as a foreign intrusion, but as an absolute profanation and sacrilege, to be expiated at any cost," must be reckoned amongst his childhood's first impressions.

The dispassionate observer, on the other hand, unhampered by such bias of early sentiment, sees the Mohammedan established in India these nine centuries, there by right of long tenancy, of indissoluble bonds of kinship, of his own inalienable contribution to Indian culture and Indian history, and by right of the mutual goodwill existing between him and the heirs of India's older culture. If less artistically creative than the Eastern Aryan, whether Persian or Hindu, Moslem rulers have won a great name as patrons of the arts, and as guardians and exponents of science and literature, creating by their imaginative insight and breadth of sympathy a fitting atmosphere for the development of these, and according a dignity and honour to all true forms of culture. The establishment of Moghul rule in India gave a marked stimulus to the development of new branches of art, though for a time holding others in check, and realized its own distinctive genius in the special branch of architecture. Indeed, the Hindu and Mohammedan temperaments seem to be in large measure complementary to one another—the one pantheistic, fecund, tending, if unrestrained, to profusion and redundancy of fancy; the other austere, puritanical, worshipping God spiritually with the understanding, innocent of deifying humanity or of humanizing deity. Let India claim with all pride her prehistoric epics and ancient rock-cut sculptures, but let her not disown the glory of her historic Taj.

Apart from certain Vedic preferences Sir George Birdwood shows himself throughout as a sincere and impartial friend of all that is truly national in Indian life and character. His chapters on "Indian Unrest," and the

various points in the preface which these elaborate, are inspired by that insight into, and understanding of, the Indian temperament, for which Sir George Birdwood has always been famous. Since the offices of advocate and judge are hardly to be reconciled, and since it is as an avowed champion that Sir George Birdwood speaks, the business of criticism is less to concern itself with the wisdom or discretion of his conclusions than to discover how much light is thrown by him upon a subject too long darkened to Western understanding.

In matters of artistic criticism and inquiry into origins it must be admitted that the author of "Sva" is scarcely abreast of the times. His vision, like that of so many Western Orientalists, seems to be perpetually obscured with "le mirage oriental," as Salomon Reinach has named it. Europe has, by his account, no primary culture of its own. The sources of our Classics must all be sought in the East or in Egypt. This preoccupation, which pervades the whole series of essays, is especially prominent in the section on "Oriental Carpets." Such inspiration as Greece did not derive from Chaldaea was supplied to her from the land of the Nile, and the author goes so far as to maintain that the "hollow warships of the bronze-mailed Achæans" were "the earliest indications we possess of any historical value of the nascent international life of South-Eastern Europe." Greece, in his view, did little more than Hellenize the imported cultures of other countries. These strange pronouncements are chiefly interesting as showing the extraordinary hold which the conjectural opinions of Max Müller and the philologist school still exercise upon the popular mind after thirty years of established archaeological fact. The ethnological origins of the Hellenic stock may be a matter of dispute; not so the long antecedent occupation of all Hellenic lands by a Mediterranean people of highly-developed civilization—Mycenean, Egean, Minoan, dating back in a continuous line to the earliest trace of human habitation upon these sites. The gradual evolution of this Mediterranean civilization in its stronghold of Crete from a time parallel with the first Egyptian dynasty, and contemporary in its three chief Minoan epochs with the three greatest periods in the history of Egypt is the grand triumph of Western archaeological discovery. That this Cretan folk evolved a civilization of a very high order of material and artistic development, strikingly modern in its luxury and refinement, and totally unlike any other civilization of antiquity, that they made use of alphabets—a linear and pictographic script—as old as any hieroglyphs recorded in Egypt, and that they possessed a sea-Empire as large as any the world has ever seen up to the nineteenth century, are facts of which no Western archaeologist needs to be reminded. But the time honoured fable of "Asia, the Mother of Greece," dies hard.

The tracing back of human customs beyond their obvious source has always been a favourite hobby of culture-students of the old school. The spider may devise and execute her web, that miracle of dexterous elaboration, without any influence other than the inspiration of her mother-wit being attributed to her; but when *homo sapiens* sets out to perform the simplest task he must needs, it is supposed, consult some museum prototype in order to learn how to proceed. The essay on the "Mahratta

Plough" is a fascinating example—one of a multitude in the book—of this antiquarian ingenuity. "There can be little doubt," writes Sir George Birdwood, "of the drill-plough of India having originally been obtained from Babylonia, while the ordinary single-stilted plough would seem to have passed from Mesopotamia overland into North-West India through Persia. The Greeks and Romans must also, through their common ancestors, have received their single-stilted plough from Mesopotamia, while the later double-handed plough of Europe is to be traced back to the influence of ancient Egypt." But—alas for human learning!—even this detailed genealogy leaves us with the unsolved riddle of "Who made the first plough?" In point of fact, to take the early European plough, the five varieties mentioned by Pliny were all demonstrably evolved from the plough in use in Rome of the kings, which plough is almost identical with that described by Hesiod. Hesiod's plough was no more than a development of a ruder instrument, having stock and pole in one piece and tail inserted separately—a contrivance so simple that a child could make it out of a rough tree-bole with a branch curving upwards. Yet even this crude instrument was developed from still more primitive implements, whose history can be traced by monumental evidence upon Greek soil. The history of the Indian plough is, in all likelihood, equally independent.

On the subject of comparative religious observance and symbolism, Sir George Birdwood is really in his element. Following in the footsteps of Mannhardt, discoverer of the ubiquitous corn-spirit, and thoroughly conversant with the methods of the "Golden Bough," if not of any later school, he is indefatigable in pursuing every detail of superstitious worship to its source in human instinct and impulse. In ritual observance, however, he is not merely the learned critic, but insists with a child-like zest on being allowed to "come and join the dance." The Christmas feast, at which it was his annual custom to entertain his Indian friends of all religions, was a ritual of such marvellous elaboration that the bare recital of it covers three long pages. One is tempted to wonder if the guests, heirs of that "hieratic civilization of antiquity" so incomparably superior to our "secular, joyless, inane, and self-destructive West," read the warm-hearted greeting of the Christmas-tree aright, and received its message of "universal charity and religious reconciliation and of pan-Aryan brotherhood" without inquiring too closely into its more immediate symbolism. For what does the "green bush placed upon a mound resting upon a coiled dragon or serpent" signify to those who, like Sir George Birdwood, converse in such ritual signs? By Sir George Birdwood's own telling of symbols have we not here both solar-phallic emblem and Priapean pole?

Not in learned analysis or disputations, large as they bulk in the volume, is the wisdom of Sir George Birdwood made manifest, but in the very different qualities which give to "Sva" its value and individual charm. These are his deep devotional love of nature, a sympathy in receiving, and a fearlessness in recording impressions to which most Europeans in the East are little sensitive, and that real understanding of Eastern psychology which illumines the occasional sketches he gives us of his Indian friends, simple and upright men of heart, who admitted him to

their confidence, affection, and the sacred intimacies of their daily life. At his best, and far above all criticism, is Sir George Birdwood when writing of the phenomena of Nature and the things which move him deeply. Reverence and awe, enlightened with some of the vision of the seer, govern the mood of the whole first chapter containing the description of India as "one of the blast-furnaces wherein the winds of the world are evolved, bearing with them everywhere fire and hail, snow and vapour, and the life-giving, purifying oxygen disengaged in ceaseless and immeasurable volumes from the perennially green primæval forests of the tropics. So placed at the focus of her mightiest operations, man must stoop very humbly to Nature if he would hope to understand her and subdue her to his purposes." For this reason I have chosen to record last my first impressions of "Sva"—the splendour of that opening Benedicite, "The South-West Monsoon," in which the author portrays his psychic sympathy with hurricane, storm, and deluge, and the revelation of beauty that follows, wherein "the heart of man is filled with an exalted joy in contemplation of the sublime manifestations of the beneficent power by which the face of Nature is renewed in perpetual youth, and glory, and praise."

E. AGNES R. HAIGH.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION.

2. *Railways in India*: Administration Report for the year 1913-14. Two vols. (Simla Government Central Press.)

The new form in which this publication is now issued, with the appendices bound in a separate volume, secures a far greater lucidity than was previously the case.

The Administration Report is, of course, of special interest at the present juncture. It states that the actual expenditure during the year—*i.e.*, from April 1, 1913, to March 31, 1914—was Rs. 18, 46 lakhs. This shows a substantial rise over last year, and constitutes a record.

The gross traffic receipts on the State Railways amount to 56 lakhs, whereas the working expenses work out at 29 lakhs.

NEW CONSTRUCTIONS.

The most important new line is the Jullundur Hoshiarpur Branch of the North-Western Railway, which, though only twenty-four miles in length, traverses a rich part of the Punjab, and connects Hoshiarpur, the only district headquarter in that province not already provided with railway communications, with the main line.

The runnings received so far indicate that the undertaking will prove highly remunerative, and have encouraged the promotion of a company for the construction of other branches in the neighbourhood.

The Bayana Agra Railway constitutes the last section of the Nagra-Muttra project. Thereby two broad-gauge routes to the important centre

of Agra from Bombay have become available. Considerable local traffic may be secured through the proximity of the famous Bharatpur quarries.

A branch line eighty-two miles in length has been built by the Bengal and North-Western Railway, mainly with the object of allowing access to Allahabad. This necessitated the construction of a bridge over the Ganges of forty spans of 150 feet clear. This new construction will be of great importance in connection with the pilgrim traffic.

Perhaps the most important of all, and that of the greatest general interest, is the work done in connection with the India and Ceylon Railway. The actual length of railway constructed in India is, however, so far under twenty-two miles. Three turbine steamers have been obtained by the South Indian Railway for the ferry service. The vessels are 250 feet long, with a beam of 38 feet, and are fitted with Parson's geared turbines and Yarrow water-tube boilers. They have been designed to develop a speed of eighteen knots.

PASSENGER ACCOMMODATION.

Owing to the great distances and climatic conditions in India it has become necessary to adopt a standard of comfort for the ordinary first and second class passenger far above that which is customary in Europe. The need for as large a space as possible in the compartment renders the corridor system of construction, except for special purposes, inadvisable, and the type most generally provided is a four-bunk compartment having two upper berths which fold up in the daytime. This system is now becoming more and more standardized. The third-class passenger prefers a carriage fitted with as few obstacles as possible, in which he can accommodate himself with all his belongings. This demand is being met by the construction of long bogie coaches, with ample supply of water and a plentiful provision of racks for stowing away baggage.

TRAIN LIGHTING BY ELECTRICITY.

The Railway Board have issued orders to all State-worked railways to equip all passenger stock with electric light and to discontinue the use of gas for train lighting. For some years these railways have been carrying out the policy of fitting all first and second class carriages and all dining-cars with electric light and fans, and the resultant comfort and cleanliness has been so marked that it has been now decided to extend the use of electricity to intermediate and third-class carriages. The Appendix shows that many of the metre and narrow-gauge railways have already adopted electric lighting exclusively.

3. *ANTIQUITIES OF INDIAN TIBET.* By A. H. Francke, PH.D. Part I.: Being vol. xxxviii. of the Archaeological Survey of India. New series. Pp. 124; 45 plates in collotype; 4 cuts. (Calcutta: *Government Printing Office*, 1914.) Price Rs. 12 = 18s.

This first volume of Dr. Francke's work is a narrative of his travels, to be followed by the publication of the chronicles and inscriptions collected

during his trip, undertaken in 1909 at the request of Dr. Marshall, Director of Archæology. Dr. Francke was particularly fitted for the arduous task set him by previous travels in Ladakh and Lahul, some of the results of his earlier work being embodied in his "History of Western Tibet" (1907). The present work contains very valuable information very ably illustrated, thanks to the photographic skill of Babu Pindi Lal, undertaken in circumstances of hardship which might well deter a less enthusiastic worker from photographic pursuits.

One of the first discoveries mentioned in the work is that of an inscription containing the name of King Lha-bla-ma-ye-shes-od, who, in his zeal for the propagation of Buddhism, tried by all means in his power to draw Atiṣa into his kingdom. Some interesting observations are also noted in Spiti, and at a monastery of hKor-rdzod the author was sorely tempted to take away a large carving of Padma-Sambhava, the weight of which was, however, too great. Here we see an example to be followed in such circumstances—to shame the dealers' touts who cut into three pieces a heavy Chinese relief, and then, finding the fragments still too heavy, left them in the jungle. Some interesting finds from Dard tombs—skulls, bones and pottery—are reproduced. Peculiarities of ethnography, birth customs, etc., are noted, and the ninety photographs are excellent. One might have wished to find in an index of nearly twenty columns some references to subject-matter besides the geographical string of names. That is the only criticism one can offer, and it is to be hoped that the second volume will soon complete this very valuable work. J.

Other books received: From the Superintendent of Government Press, Madras, Annual Report of the Archæological Department: List of Treasure-Trove, illustrated with seven plates in half-tone; Report of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, G.O. 920, including illustrations and descriptions of ninety-three dancing postures from Chedambaram, with cross-references to the Bhāratiya Nāṭyaśāstra.

4. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: ANNUAL REPORT, 1909-1910. Pp. vi + 187 + iv. With 54 collotype plates and 33 plans or half-tones. (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1914.) Price Rs. 15 = £1 2s. 6d.

This volume has been edited by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, in the absence of the Director. It contains a general report and sixteen separate papers as follows: "Ancient Brick Temples in the Central Provinces," by A. H. Longhurst; "The Temple of Mahadeva at Bajaurākūṭ," with five reproductions of sculpture, by J. Ph. Vogel (who deals also with exploration work in 1909); "The Shāh Burj" (Delhi fort), showing the restoration carried out in 1904 to bring back this interesting building near its Mughal splendour; another paper deals with the restoration of the Diwan-i'-Amm (Lahore fort)—both by Gordon Sanderson. Prominence is given, by D. B. Spooner, to the exploration of Sahribahlol, with its wonderful gandhāra reliefs and figures (very fully illustrated), one of which, the hook-posed head (Plate XXIA), is worthy of special attention. It is said to be the

head of a monk, to whose figure a lean hand holding a miniature stupa probably belonged. It suggests strongly comparison with early Japanese masks. Alas! so many heads are without bodies, and so many bodies headless; yet India was never pillaged by unprincipled creatures such as those who, catering for Western collectors, break the heads of the Lung Men statues for the sake of a few pieces of gold. But the lime-burner and other iconoclasts had no eye for beauty or respect for art. We cannot, however, agree with the author that the banners on Plate XVI A have any connection with the Japanese *Gohei*; they are banners pure and simple. This paper is appropriately followed by a further instalment of Dr. Vogel's studies of Mathurā sculptures (*cf.* Report A.S.I., 1906-07), also well illustrated. The small picture of the *Makara*, p. 75, may be commended for comparison with the Christian rendering of hell in medieval cathedrals. A paper deals with the stupa of Mirpur Khās. It illustrates its architecture, sculpture, and relics, including a tiny heap of human ashes. The next subjects are the Mandor ruins and Dr. Francke's report on his finds in Indian Tibet (the subject of a book the first volume of which is reviewed in this issue). Mr. Taw Sein Ko deals with his excavations at Hmawza (Vathemyo), the pagodas of which have been repeatedly rifled of their contents. Most of the finds are Gupta sculptures of the seventh century, terra-cotta tablets and vessels. A further note thereon will be found in the 1910 report, from which it appears that Buddhism was practised instead of Śivaism at Hmawza in the fifth or sixth century, and that Pāli was used as one of the vehicles of Buddhism. The remaining papers are devoted to epigraphy, and to a memoir on the Hoysālas of Chōla. The half-tone block 1 on p. 119 has been printed upside down.—J.

5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: REPORT FOR 1910-11. Issued 1914. Pp. 103, with 53 plates. (Calcutta: Government Press.) Price Rs. 13 = 19s. 6d.

This volume, following the tradition, gives us fully illustrated reports of excavations and finds, including those at Sahēṭh Mahēṭh, Shāh-ji-ki-Dhēri, Takht-i-Bāhi, Isāpur, Kasiā, Rāmatirtham, Hmawza, and two memoirs by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel on "The Sacrificial Posts of Isāpur" and "The Iconography of the 'Seven Pagodas.'"

On p. 56 Dr. Vogel says that he knows only of two (*Indian*) instances in which the Mahishāsura is represented as a human figure with the head of a buffalo. As a compensation the Chinese conception of Hadēs introduces him, together with the horse-headed demon, as "witness" in practically all pictures of Yemma Ō's court.—J.

6. ONE HUNDRED POEMS OF KABIR. Translated by Rabindranath Tagore, assisted by Evelyn Underhill. Published by the India Society, London. Printed and sold at the Chiswick Press, 20, Took's Court, Chancery Lane, E.C.

Everyone who is conversant with the works of Kabir—and by this we mean almost every Indian, both Hindu and Mahomedan—and every such

Indian who desires a better understanding for his country, cannot but be glad that the English-speaking public have now the opportunity of reading a translation of some of these poems and songs. A sympathetic understanding of a country cannot be arrived at without some knowledge of the religion and literature, habits and customs of the people, and unfortunately the difference of language has been one of the most serious obstacles in the way of such understanding. }

The reader who takes up this little volume will not only be struck by the simplicity and beauty of the language and the spirituality that breathes through it all, but he will be surprised to find that these devotional songs of mysticism originated from the brain and heart of a simple weaver born of Mahomedan parents about 1440. At this period the influence of the Persian mystics—Sadi, Rumi, Hafiz—was making a profound impression on the religious thought of India, and Kabir, who from his childhood had been filled with the deepest religious fervour, dreamed of reconciling the intense and personal mysticism of these Mahomedan teachers with the traditional theology of Brahmanism. How far he succeeded can be judged from the fact that he is claimed by Hindus and Mahomedans alike as a religious leader, and yet after reading his poems it is impossible to say whether he was Brahman or Sufi, Vaishnavite or Vedantist. He drew his inspirations from Hindu and Mahomedan sources impartially, and as he himself puts it, he is “a child of both Allah and Ram.” He wished to break down the barriers that men had raised between themselves and the Divinity—the barriers of caste and creed, of forms and ceremonies—for Kabir saw God in everything— in stock and stone, tree and flower, in the simple things of daily life, in every man’s heart. His mystic devotion he expressed in the simplest and homeliest metaphors, in the dialect of the people, by song and music that the lowliest could understand, and to this day in India his songs live throughout the country, strong in their simplicity and mystic passion. He was no believer in austerity and asceticism, but lived the life of an ordinary man, pursuing his duties as a weaver, rejoicing in human love and friendship, and through all finding the expression of his Divine passion. The priesthood of both religions, Hindu and Mahomedan, could not tolerate this defiance of forms and ceremonies, this direct communion with God without their intercession, and he was subjected to much religious persecution; but his life was spared. He died about 1515, and the beautiful legend of his death exemplifies how well he realized the dream of uniting the two great religions. The story runs that when he died his followers, both Hindu and Mahomedan, quarrelled among themselves for his body, each claiming him for their own. Kabir appeared before them and told them to look at the body, and when they did so they found a heap of flowers, half of which were burnt by the Hindus and half buried by the Mahomedans. So in death as in life he united the most beautiful doctrines of two great religions.

For the translation of these songs we are indebted to Rabindranath Tagore, whose mystical genius makes him a peculiarly sympathetic interpreter of the passion and beauty, and whose mastery of language has given to the translation the fullest value possible. The most interesting intro-

duction by Evelyn Underhill not only gives an account of the life of Kahir, but explains a good deal of the religious history of the period, and helps to a better understanding of the poems themselves.

7. ZOROASTRIAN THEOLOGY: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Maneckji Nusservandji Dhalla, PH.D., High-Priest of the Parsis of North-Western India. (New York, 1914.) Pp. 384, large 8vo. (London: *Luzac and Co.*)

Dr. Dhalla, whose short stay in London was mentioned in our pages,, has expounded in this well-printed volume the religious beliefs of the Parsi from pre-Gathic times until now. The work is analytical in treatment, all statements made therein being rigorously classified and backed by references to the texts. It is of interest to note that Parsis seek no converts. Proselytizing was looked upon with disfavor, as likely to bring within the fold unworthy, and perhaps unconvinced, devotees. The conclusion of the High-priest is one to be commended to most men; it breathes a spirit of tolerance, of broadmindedness, of common sense. "Zoroastrianism will live by its eternal verities . . . by an abiding faith in the triad of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, the inexorable law of righteousness, the reward and retribution in the life hereafter. . . . Man may fall away from dogmas and from rituals, and yet he may remain religious. Righteousness rests on the individual piety, and not on a scrupulous observance of ceremonials." Replace "religion" by "moral," "piety" by "morality," and to all that the most hardened agnostic, freethinker, atheist even, will subscribe heartily.

The book is well produced and thoroughly well indexed, yet cheap in price; its non-partisan attitude is worthy of all praise. - K.

THE FAR EAST

8. THE SPIRIT OF JAPANESE ART. *Wisdom of the East Series.* By Yoné Noguchi. Pp. 114. (London: *John Murray* Price 2s. net.)

This little book of ten essays, with two appendices, is presumably a companion to the same author's "Spirit of Japanese Poetry." Mr. Noguchi is Professor of English Literature in the Keiogijiku University, Tōkyō, and he has for many years adopted the English language as a medium of expression, both in poetry and in prose. His short sojourn in England last year brought him back into touch with people and scenes long familiar, and he made good use of his time to write, lecture, and doubtless also to study new faces and idiosyncrasies. Here and there an allusion in this book betrays the fact, and at least one essay, *The Last Master of the Ukiyoyé Art*, has already appeared in print in the *Transactions of the Japan Society*, although no mention is made of the fact. The book is, in a way, somewhat of a puzzle; indeed, it might be said that Noguchi himself is a little puzzling to European readers, for he invests his pages with peculiarities of connotation and syntax, and with parenthesis, which now

and then tend to make his meaning more obscure than desirable. In fact, we do not find in any of these essays a dogmatic treatment of the subject as described in the title, nor does a crisp picture of it issue from the whole. It is not a scientific analysis, it is a human document—sympathetic biographical sketches, and Noguchi's own thoughts in the presence of various forms of artistic effort by his countrymen of past ages; and as such it is really more interesting than any hair-splitting discussion, or laboured psychological work smacking of Germanic bespectacled Kultur. The very defects of Noguchi's mode of expression, his involved sentences, his paradoxes, his asides, shall we say his Noguchi-isms? have their value, the greater because they compel abstraction and thought. Indeed, one wonders whether they are not calculated mannerisms, to drive the reader into a silent, contemplative mood, that eminently Japanese frame of mind which makes it possible for three men to sit together silently for hours, yet to enjoy the absence of words, to get somehow an understanding of one another's thoughts with a minimum of noise. In the dim past paintings were called poetry without words—*Musci no shi*; it is, indeed, the title of a collection of sketches copied from masterpieces; and that must be taken to heart before one can try to understand the best paintings of the best period, such as the Daruma mentioned on p. 11. Yet perhaps this particular picture does not convey the full philosophy of Zen meditation as pregnantly as the large, wonderfully powerful figure of Daruma in the Jacoby Collection, or as some landscapes of the Sesshu school. Of all this there is a recurrent suggestion in the book. Noguchi is a dreamer; his spirit lives in the old feudal period, although his body is clothed in conventional European style and his thoughts assume an English garb, but he can find sympathy with the *best* specimens of the popular, and too often vulgar, Ukiyoyé school; it shows catholic tastes, perhaps also a desire to be fair to all, perhaps merely is he like his late friend Hara, seated on the sill of a dead world and conjuring thoughts of long-gone ghosts. It were idle to analyze, to dissect, each essay; criticism, perhaps, would be equally idle, as the author may compare himself with the priestly painters whose work, in his own words, “. . . was a sort of prayer-making to satisfy their own imagination, not a thing to show to a critic whose attempt at arguing and denying is only a nuisance . . .,” and another description of critics is even less complimentary (33). Nevertheless, we must say that we do not agree with him about there having been *one* Hiroshigé only; we cannot see Hichigon Yekku (pp. 41, 42) repeated with Hichigon Zekku instead of Shichigon Zekku without a protest; we look upon the interversion of family name and personal name, or titles in deference to Western fashion, with a shudder. Matsudaira Suwo no Kami is rational, but Suwo no kami Matsudaira is ludicrous; it sounds as laughable as *frau-general-sewage-disposal-ober-inspector Schmidt*! And we must correct a few misprints. Hopper for Happer (38), Umei for Umäi, Takuchu for Jakuchu (11), Korin with a small k, lespedoza for lespedrza (26), Ronetti (34)—small flies on cooked rice which will not spoil the taste of the dish.—H. L. J.

9. THE NIGHTSIDE OF JAPAN. By J. Fujimoto. Pp. 234; 40 plates. (*Werner Laurie, Ltd.*). Price 7s. 6d. net.

The unwary tourist who lands in Paris in search of spicy adventure looks upon "Paris la nuit," and other books of the same nature, as welcome guides, until he fathoms the emptiness of both the book and the life it purports to describe. Of Japan, or rather of her capital and of her chief cities by night, the life after curfew has seldom been described. Globe-trotters have avoided disclosing to their readers—and to their own relations—their wilder dip into the unknown; the average reader has heard of the Yoshiwara from many writers who knew little about it from personal experience, and his superficial acquaintance with the life of Tokyo stops short of De Becker's classic, or of Professor Inouyé's "Life of Tokyo." Mr. Fujimoto set himself the task to unveil much that is interesting, and also, in his desire for naturalism, much that is pitiful. East meets West in the life of the poorer classes and of the outcasts; the doss-house of Japan has nothing to envy that of the East-end; Tokyo sellers of *yakiimo* vie with our potato-cans and chestnut-sellers, but the dilatory methods of the first-class fish restaurant would hardly be relished by European customers; eels cooked with rice, or baked as *kabayaki*, are more refined than the gluey concoction dear to the Cockney's heart; and Mr. Fujimoto might have recorded that one of the most famous eel restaurants in Tokyo boasts of a proprietor who is a picture collector of no mean merit.

This very candid and entertaining book covers its ground thoroughly, though the space devoted to some of the subjects—e.g., theatres, *Yosé*, etc.—might have been extended, although the author's English presents here and there peculiarities (*some* of which might have been edited) the publisher was wise in keeping it as it left the writer's pen. To those who know already something of Japanese life the information herein conveyed will be welcome, the more so because it is free from the fulsome and too often insincere flattery so common in the ephemeral journals of trippers. Much of that information is of practical interest, and even the casual reader will pick up a smattering of street language—with slang intervening. Remarkably few misprints occur amongst the Japanese words—*hadakamairi* (151), *Tsujura* (218), *Nanakusa* (170), *Kyomachi street* (pleonastic), *Dodoitsu* (47), and a few others, should be corrected as shown here.—SHOSANKEN.

THE NEAR EAST

10. THE BALKAN COCKPIT (the Political and Military Story of the Balkan Wars in Macedonia). By W. H. Crawford Price. (London *T. Werner Laurie, Ltd.*) 12s. 6d. net.

At this the beginning of the year 1915, it is a queer thing to read of "atrocities in Macedonia." The reader is about to hold up his hands in horror when he remembers just in time that what seemed good to Bulgarian "voivodes" or Turkish gendarmes, and what previously would have been denounced as the barbarism of the wild Balkans, or, to use the Metternichean phrase, places "outside the pale of Europe," is now an

almost daily occurrence, according to official reports, in Flanders and the North of France, so much nearer home.

Now that the realities of war have been more vividly brought home to us, we are disposed to look upon the late Balkan War somewhat differently. We see the Turks in great straits before that war, striving to set up a modern form of government in Constantinople, and obsessed with an alien spy peril in Macedonia, whose inhabitants saw in the very enlightenment and democratization of Turkey a menace to their own political grievances and plottings. We see the Bulgarians, after bearing the brunt of the fighting in Thrace, "outmanœuvred" by her friends, and stabbed in the back by Roumania. We see Greece faced with inferior forces winning easy victories, and then, through the skilful green-rose diplomacy of Vénesetos, realizing all her ambitions. We see Servia behaving in a very similar way. We are no longer disposed to take sides.

But the author frankly avows in his preface that "he has had occasion to somewhat severely criticize the Bulgarians," and that he must needs point out the failures of the Turks rather than their virtues. He states that "the facts before him have made him do so, but are these all the facts? And without all the facts should a writer criticize at all?"

The first four chapters of the book deal with the causes of the war. Among them he cites the introduction of conscription among the non-Moslem subjects of Turkey, the disarmament of the Macedonian peasantry—which he admits was a most necessary step—and the tyranny of the local committees of Young Turks. The latter he describes in characteristic fashion: "Truly, the last state of the Macedonian house was worse than the first. Hamid had been a tyrant, avaricious, and cruel, but there was only one of him. In his place there were set up two hundred Hamids, in the shape of the local Young Turk committees, who ruled the people with an absolutism, a cruelty, and an injustice which would have been worthy of the great despot himself."

In his fifth chapter the writer remarks that Koumanovo was the decisive battle of the campaign, and it was the great Servian victory of that name which, more than any other engagement, rendered the Balkan States masters of Macedonia. He is therefore disposed to question the theory that the first Balkan War was won and lost exclusively upon the plains of Thrace. Very vivid is his description of the rupture between Greece and the Bulgarians, and the subsequent fighting in the district of Kilikich and Doiran.

The author is at his best in his narrative of events, with which he was in close touch, and his discussion of political and diplomatic events is always suggestive.

THE WAR

II. LES ORIGINES DE LA GUERRE. By Count Jules Andrassy. Edition de la Revue Politique Internationale, Lausanne.

Students of international politics will do well to read this survey of the origins of the war by the son of the Austrian statesman who played

such an important part at the Congress of Berlin. England's attitude to European equilibrium was at that time, as Count Andrassy reminds us, exactly the opposite to what it is now. Rightly or wrongly, in 1878 England considered that the existence of Austria and Turkey was necessary to Europe to counterbalance the Russian power; rightly or wrongly, in 1915 the consequence of her diplomacy is to assist the realization of the same Russian projects to which all her past statecraft has been opposed. Count Andrassy is not concerned with the ethics of the situation; he is a diplomatist. He is merely at a loss to understand the motives of English diplomacy, having regard to the danger that a Russian victory in Europe would have for England. "Aujourd'hui," he says, "elles subsistent, les raisons pour lesquelles Beaconsfield et Salisbury engageaient jadis l'Autriche-Hongrie à intervenir dans la guerre Turco-Russe de 1878, à ne pas permettre aux armées du Tsar de traverser les Balkans et d'occuper Constantinople, ne fût-ce que pour vingt-quatre heures; les raisons pour lesquelles l'Angleterre interdisait à la Russie d'étendre ses opérations militaires jusqu'à la presqu'île de Gallipoli, au Golfe Persique ou au Canal de Suez, et exigeait de cette puissance, avant de paraître au Congrès de Berlin, la garantie que les frontières de la Bulgarie nouvellement créée ne s'étendraient pas au-delà des Balkans."

The explanation of England's change of front does not, of course, so much lie in the fact that the Oriental situation has changed as in her pre-occupation with another danger. The Eastern aspect of the issues at stake in this war has as little entered into the Western view as the feeling of what is meant by the "Teuton-Slav" conflict had, before the war, touched the Western imagination. Though most people are vaguely aware that behind the Servian quarrel were ranged larger ambitions than the events of that quarrel showed, to only a few who watched Eastern matters did these ambitions appear to be more fundamental and of greater dimensions than the warring forces of Anglo-German rivalry. It is well that our insular focus should be shifted, and that we should more generally and clearly recognize that the years of misunderstanding and mutual fear between England and Germany are but as a day compared to the time during which the Russian menace has hung like a sword of Damocles over the head of Austria.

No one, we believe, disputes the fact that Russia for many years has stood behind Servia. Servia's submission of the Austrian ultimatum to Russia, and her expressed willingness to abide by the latter's decision, indicate the nature of the alliance between the two. Even if the allegations as to Russian encouragement of the actual conspiracy which led to the Serajevo tragedy are exaggerated, it is no secret that the Russian Minister at Belgrade, the late M. Hartwig, was, as Count Andrassy says of him, "l'âme du mouvement yougo-slave," and had supported an anti-Austrian agitation in Servia, which was bound ultimately to culminate in an Austro-Russian war. Russia has always known the price of peace with Austria. The rivalry of the two Powers in the Balkans was for many years regulated by their mutual recognition and delimitation of two spheres of influence there, in the north-east and north-west respectively.

The occasions enumerated by Count Andrassy when Russia showed her willingness to come to a definite arrangement with Austria on this basis, and to allow Austria to occupy Serbia in exchange for the recognition of her rights in the east of the peninsula, are known facts of history, and not only establish the fact that Russia recognized the local limitations of a conflict with Austria, but cast a cynical reflection upon her profession of disinterested protector of the various Slav nationalities. In the light of history, Russia's attitude towards Serbia cannot be construed much otherwise than as Count Andrassy construes it in defining what "protecting" Serbia against Austria has always meant to the government of the Tsar. "Protéger" la Serbie contre l'Autriche-Hongrie signifiait toujours, pour le gouvernement du Tsar, chercher à nous prendre entre deux feux. La Serbie en elle-même n'a pas beaucoup d'importance au point de vue russe, s'il ne s'agit pas d'un atout à conserver *contre nous*. La preuve en est dans l'histoire même de nos relations avec la Russie au cours du XIXe siècle : toutes les fois que la Russie était disposée à maintenir la paix avec l'Autriche-Hongrie, elle abandonna la Serbie facilement, tandis que chaque crise dans nos relations avait comme corollaire la politique 'protectrice' des Serbes."

On the other hand, interest in Serbia for her own sake has not been any more conspicuous in Austrian politics. No better illustration of the characteristic diplomatic indifference to the rights of small nationalities exists than in the following passage in the pamphlet, where Count Andrassy is concerned to show that the contention put forward by Serbia in regard to the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that Serbia's national aspirations were the reason why the mandate given to Austria at the Congress of Berlin was one of occupation only, is entirely false :

"Si nous nous contentâmes d'un mandat d'occupation au Congrès de Berlin, c'était pour la seule raison que le Comte Andrassy tenait absolument à ce que sa politique, dont un des principaux buts fut la sauvegarde de la vitalité turque, n'amenât pas une guerre contre le Sultan qui ne voulait pas renoncer formellement à ses droits sur la Bosnie. Voilà l'unique raison pour laquelle le mandat reçu à Berlin ne parlait pas d'annexion, mais seulement d'occupation et d'administration. *Les égards pour la Serbie n'y étaient pour rien.* Tout au contraire, l'occupation avait directement pour but d'enlever aux Serbes tout espoir d'étendre leurs frontières vers l'Adriatique, et cela avec le consentement de la Russie."

To do Count Andrassy justice, he makes no attempt to base Austria's claim on any other ground than her own danger from Russian aggression. There is a frankness about his complete absence of concern with less selfish motives which is refreshing compared with the idealistic professions of most of the combatants. He is not cynical, because in his mind there is evidently no idea that international politics could ever be conducted on principles different to those on which they have hitherto rested. His experience, not his aspiration, makes him indignant at the hypocritical pretexts put forward by Russia and Great Britain. But he is not malicious at the expense of either. Towards Great Britain he is, for an enemy, amazingly fair. "Nul n'estime les Anglais plus que moi," he says. "Je

suis convaincu que les résultats obtenus par eux dans le domaine de l'administration sont le maximum de ce qui a été atteint jusqu'ici par l'humanité, car ils ont toujours su allier le respect absolu de la loi à la liberté complète de l'individu, le self-government à l'ordre et à la force. L'Empire coloniale de l'Angleterre est la preuve de ces admirables vertus et de ces grandes qualités. Mais en dépit de cela, sa politique extérieure ne repose point sur des principes moraux supérieurs à ceux de n'importe quel autre Etat." In answer to the Oxford professors, whose pamphlets comparing the sublime ideals of English policy with the Macchiavellian ambitions of Prussia he has read, he points to the vast extent of the British Empire, and asks how Great Britain acquired her "rights" if not by egoism and physical force. But how could it be otherwise? he reflects. Imperialism and respect for the rights of others cannot go hand in hand. On the Continent, it is true, England has more than once acted in defence of small nations, but that is because her interest lay that way. Each great Continental Power could become a menace to her; she had a vital interest in maintaining the European equilibrium. But outside Europe, we agree with Count Andrassy, history shows that Great Britain's interest and the rights of others were not always so accommodatingly coincident, and of the two national devices, the English one, "Mon droit est aussi mon intérêt," and the Prussian "Mon intérêt est aussi mon droit," the latter has at least the merit of being the franker. Moreover, an impartial survey of comparative imperialisms, such as one day when the war is over we may hope to get, would scarcely, as Count Andrassy points out, fail to notice that, despite the works of Bernhardi and Treitschke and the other revilers of German pacifism, the establishment of the German Empire has cost Europe less wars than that of any of its imperial neighbours.

Nevertheless, though Count Andrassy refuses to accept the idealistic reasons assumed by the Oxford professors and the main body of English opinion for England's participation in the war, he is equally indisposed to believe the charge, generally circulated in Germany and Austria, that England deliberately provoked the war. Her endeavours for peace throughout the recent Balkan Wars, her readiness to come to an understanding with Germany on all the Balkan questions, stand, he maintains, as incontestable evidence against the accusations of those who declare "que ce soit la jalousie qui aurait poussé l'Angleterre à chercher une guerre universelle pour noyer dans le sang la concurrence allemande." Nowadays, when the moral consciousness of a civilized nation has reached such a point of development that it seems to require the belief in the enemy's fiendish wickedness in order to justify its resort to war, it is an unusual and touching greeting from an enemy that he should write that the very horrors of war convince him of the impossibility of a civilized nation like England being intentionally provocative. If commercial rivalry, as he remarks, were a sufficient reason for such an accusation, British jealousy would have been equally excited by American competition in this direction.

How did it happen, then, asks Count Andrassy, that far-seeing and prudent England decided to take part in a Continental war, such as she had only undertaken once since Waterloo, and at the side of her ancient

rivals, France and Russia? There was in her case no such alliance as bound France, nor was it a question of honour, such as very naturally, Count Andrassy admits, influenced the aforesaid masters of Alsace-Lorraine. She was not moved by race sympathies and a traditional policy like the Russians, nor, since she had more to lose than gain in the war, can she have been animated by the motives which brought in the Japanese. Count Andrassy's answer is what we think will, in the main, be the verdict of history—namely, that England was not only actually committed to the side of France and Russia in any Continental struggle, but that the disposition of her policy issuing in and from these commitments had necessarily involved an indifference to the Russian menace to European equilibrium measured, according to the *Avoir du Poids* of the Balance of Power, by its increasing apprehension of Germany.

Whether a positive declaration, one way or the other, from Sir Edward Grey at the outset, supposing England's commitments to have permitted a free expression of intention, might have averted the catastrophe, we do not know, any more than we know whether the nature of the Franco-Russian alliance permitted France to exercise restraint upon her ally; but this much is clear, we think, from the diplomatic documents, that Sir Edward Grey's unwillingness to make a positive statement did not discourage either Russian or French hopes, if they were only hopes, of his ultimate support, while, similarly, they afforded no conviction in Germany of the inexpediency of invading Belgium. As Count Andrassy says, at the same time recognizing Germany's violation of international rights in this invasion:

“En face d'une Angleterre neutre l'Allemagne aurait pu respecter la neutralité belge, tout en rendant la guerre avec la France plus difficile; le seul désavantage qui en serait résulté pour l'Allemagne, c'eût été l'obligation d'attaquer de front les forts français. Mais en face d'une Angleterre énigmatique, prête à intervenir à chaque instant contre l'Allemagne (c'est ce que signifiait la 'liberté d'action'), cette dernière ne voulait pas risquer que les Anglais soient à même de débarquer sur la côte belge à l'heure choisie par eux et de prendre à dos l'armée allemande que, entre temps, les combats auraient déjà affectée.”—I. C. W.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

12. THE JAPAN MAGAZINE (Tokyo: 1s. monthly).

The April issue of this bright publication completes its fifth volume, amounting to nearly 730 pages, lavishly illustrated with half-tones. The policy of this periodical, directed by its founder, His Excellency Mr Seishin Hirayama (Member of the Japanese House of Peers, and head of the Japanese Commercial Association, founded on the lines of the French Comité permanent des Expositions), has been, from the beginning, the candid exposition of Japanese ideas and of Japanese industrial life by Japanese writers. The current issue is a fair sample of its wide scope. Baron Shibusawa deals with the relations between Japan and America, with the authority that attaches to his name as the creator of Japanese

modern banking ; Mr. Noritaké Tsuda, one of the experts of the Tokyo Museum, gives an outline of the history of Korean ceramics ; an article by Mr. T. Hayashi unfolds the tale of Japanese fashions, illustrated by more than thirty photographs of girls, from the early age of one year to that time in life when a lady's age is "wropt in mystery." Mr. Nichihan Fukumoto, M. P., discusses the influence of iron upon the war, and reminds us that Germany, utilizing for her blast furnaces ores gathered from all corners of the world, produces two and a half times as much iron or steel as England, four times as much as France. A third of Germany's population, 20 millions of men, are engaged in metallurgical industries, and of iron means a place in the sun, Japan must seek in China's iron mines a means of bolstering up her production of iron and steel, now a bare 192,000 tons. Poems, and a description of the coast of Kii, bring us to an article by the Hon. S. Hirayama, on the participation of Japan in the San Francisco world fair. We may add, on personal information, that, a fortnight after the official opening of the Exhibition, when Baron Uriu arrived in San Francisco, Japan's pavilion was the only one complete in every respect. Let it be mentioned that Japan sent over 1,000 tons of exhibits at a time when navigation on the Pacific was none too easy, owing to the entry of our allies in the war. Men of rich experience, such as Mr. Haruki Yamawaki, the most urbane and best informed of Exhibition Commissioners ; H. Shugyo, one of the best-known art experts ; K. Kumei, a talented painter, fittingly represent their country on Californian soil. Art and archæology claim our attention in two articles, one dealing with the "Yellow back"—*kibyoshi*—Japanese novel from 1775 to 1868 ; another with the three masters of painting, Koyetsu, Kōrin, and Kenzan ; another article of interest relates the life of Kaemon Takeshima, the romance of a plucky, resourceful, self-made man ; then follows a short article on soap manufacture ; a somewhat pessimistic pronouncement by the erstwhile President of Kyoto University, Dr. S. Sawayanagi, upon the Japanese Universities compared with foreign ones ; finally, a tale and an editorial—current Japanese thought. Much, indeed, for a shilling, and a number which is well worth reading.

13. JOURNAL OF THE UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION OF INDIA (*April, 1915*).

The current issue contains a valuable paper by Major C. L. Norman, of the Corps of Guides, on the tactics of street fighting as applied to eastern countries. He points out the omission of the general principles of this kind of warfare from our field service regulations. He sets forth the characteristics of the cities in eastern countries : the overhanging houses, the narrowness and winding nature of the thoroughfares, the flat roofs, and so forth. He explains that action in force is impracticable, and that in such cases only the leading troops of the column are in action, while those in the rear may become an actual hindrance by blocking the streets and preventing ammunition and reinforcements being brought up.

Lieutenant-Colonel G. M. Baldwin, of the 25th Cavalry, recounts his experiences on active service in 1895 and 1897 on North-West Frontier

expeditions, together with some remarks on tactical and other points of interest to the army.

- Translations from Russian newspapers, though naturally limited to last year, are also of considerable interest.

The May number of *United Empire* (the Royal Colonial Institute Journal) contains an interesting article by Gerald A. Lepper on "India and East Africa," in which he suggests as a valuable experiment after the war to set apart German East Africa as a colony for Indians and Indians only (save for the white officials necessary for the work of organization at first), with a due regard for the interests of the aboriginal inhabitants, for whom reservations could easily be demarcated. He points out that "an area as extensive as German East Africa would itself accommodate many millions of Indians, and eventually some of East Africa and the Sudan might be added to the Indian zone in Africa, provided that the experimental stage gave satisfactory results. . . . And in German East Africa especially, if it is won largely by India's own sons, there will be a magnificent and probably a unique opportunity both to reward the services of India to the Empire in the present struggle, and to attempt a permanent solution of the claims of Indians to share more fully in the imperial heritage."

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

United Empire, Public Opinion, Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, Bombay Gazette, Hindustan Review, The Friend of India, Madras Mail, Pioneer, Quest, Indian Review, Current Opinion, Review of Reviews, Indian World, Saturday Review, Homeward Mail, Commonwealth, Near East, Leader, Canadian Gazette, Modern Review, Græcia, Indian Emigrant, Theosophist, London and China Express, Journal of the United Service Institution of India, Indiaman, La Revue, Academy, Atlantic Monthly, Islamic Review, De Indische Gids.

LONDON THEATRES

St. James's Theatre—"The Panorama of Youth," by J. Hartley Manners.

"Youth stretches before me as a glorious panorama"; but the tragedy is that it would be more correct to say that it stretches back in so many cases as a vista of past opportunities.

Sir Richard Gauntlett is suddenly made young again by meeting a fascinating Mrs. Gordon-Trent, and preaches the gospel of eternal youth to his friends, Colonel Gladwin and Clifford Carstairs, who are sceptical about the wisdom of his teaching, but see its feasibility in that he practises what he preaches. His daughter Felicia, who has recently left a convent and has illusions, is engaged to Mrs. Gordon-Trent's son. But as the latter had not seen his mother for a long time, owing to his father's version of her past, there are complications when they all meet for lunch at Sir Richard's house. Also Felicia is so intensely devoted to the memory of her mother that she implores her father not to desecrate her tomb by contracting another marriage. This scene is acted with considerable emotional effect by Miss Madge Titheradge. It is the turning-point of the play, as Sir Richard is so moved that he implores Mrs. Gordon-Trent to release him from his engagement, and faints. Felicia then proposes to go further, and throw over her Geoffrey. Of course it all ends well. Sir Richard is hoary once more, while his two friends, now become disciples of his cult of youth, appear, amid considerable amazement, in stays and electric belts and with their hair dyed.

It is, of course, a very slight play, but admirably acted. George Alexander as Sir Richard, ever courteous and beautiful in his intonation, was what we expected of him. His two friends, played by Alfred Bishop and Nigel Playfair, were most entertaining. Owen Nares, as usual, the lovesick youth Geoffrey—but we remember him also as Julian in "Diplomacy," and what not, in the past.

"Alsace," which is being played at the Court Theatre, with Madame Réjane as the chief protagonist of the "Revanche," is, one cannot help feeling, more concerned to fit the mood of the moment than to offer any thing in the nature of a serious study either of the actual Alsatian problem or of the wider psychological one of a conflict between love and patriotism. The situation is more complicated than the one in Lovelace's famous lines: love, as well as honour, is urging to the battlefield, only love is pointing to one standard and patriotism to another.

Jacques Orbey is the son of Alsatian parents who were exiled five years before the play opens because they were overheard singing the "Marseillaise" in their own house by German police agents; but Jacques has

remained in Thann to look after the family business, and, though still French at heart, is not in such subjection to the spirit which his parents in exile keep cherishing that he will forswear his love for Gretchen Schwartz, a daughter of the conqueror nation. "Love has no frontiers!" he cries; and despite his mother's pleadings, and, it being the occasion of her return to Thann, an atmosphere more than usually charged with patriotic feeling (stimulus to which is provided by the entrance of a group of Germans transported from the pages of Hansi), he marries Gretchen.

But the frontiers remain. They establish themselves upon the domestic hearth, and Jacques is daily exasperated. Everything in the house is aggressively German. Gretchen's German friends and relations accumulate there, and German regiments pass to and fro outside the window. Moreover, Gretchen's cousin Karl, a German captain, is always "en evidence." Then Madame Orbey reappears and national antagonisms deepen. Scenes which are the material equivalents of respective preferences for "Die Wacht am Rhein" and "La Marseillaise" occur one on top of the other. Real war between the two countries finally comes as a solution, or, it would be better to say, as a dissolution. Jacques at first is won over by his wife to fight for the German armies; but his instinct at last conquers, and he shouts, "Vive la France!" in defiance of the German mob in the street, and dies in his mother's arms, a reclaimed patriot.

To reverse the order of a celebrated saying: it is patriotism, but it is not magnificent. The essence of patriotism seems, indeed, to be revealed as indescribably petty and almost vicious in this clash of common everyday vanities and inflated self-esteem.

German aggressiveness and French sensitiveness as presented in "Alsace" were well acted. Madame Réjane brought out of exile the full meaning of her banishment as she led the surreptitious singing of the "Marseillaise" once more at home among her old supporters, and M. Delacre was very good as Jacques. The illustrations from Hansi were lifelike.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY

THE PORTRAIT OF THE MAHARAJAH OF SAILLANO

THE opening of the Royal Academy Exhibition on May 1 is too interesting an event to pass here wholly unnoticed. On the contrary, it is fully justified even at such a time to bring a notice in these columns of an art exhibition which not only has become a tradition in England since more than a century, but which certainly affords a good deal of interest to the art loving people of India, China, and Japan. In this connection we will mention in the first place the portrait of the Maharajah of Saillano, by S. H. Vedder. Sword in hand, his turban and warrior coat radiant with jewels, His Highness looks a true representative of one of the ancient line of Princes of India who have proved so loyal to England in this war.

Another portrait of a distinguished Eastern aristocrat is that of the Japanese Premier, Count Okuna, which offers the additional interest of being painted by the Japanese artist Karunosi Ischibashi. But the *clou* of this year's Academy is Sargent's portrait of the Right Hon. Earl Curzon, of Kedleston. Neither John Lavery's portrait of Her Majesty the Queen, nor his Dowager Lady Smily with its excellent qualities, conveys so much

finesse and study of character as this superb likeness of the former Viceroy of India. There is, perhaps, only one other portrait that can vie with it, and that is another Sargent—viz., the portrait of F. J. H. Jenkinson, the learned Librarian, of the University of Cambridge. The delicate subtlety of the pale face with the far-off look characterizes the savant. Sargent's landscapes—the Mountain Graveyard, with the dolomites in the background; the Tyrolean Crucifix, so true to Nature; and the Master and Pupil, painting in the sunshine in a pine forest near the stony bed of a river—are delightful reminiscences of the artist's summer rambles. But it is among the portraits that we find this year some of the best pictures of the Academy. Mr. Orpen's "Marchioness of Headfort" is an interesting study in black and white. No less attractive is his study in green, the "Miss Lily Carstairs." Mr. G. Kelly's portrait of Captain the Hon. Edward Wyndham represents a typical English aristocrat. But the same artist proves himself greater when he descends from these somewhat frigid heights to the low plains of poverty, as in his "Human Appeal," a picture representing a mother and child, in which the deep pathos of suffering humanity is brought home to us. This brings us to the more or less successful war-pictures, among which Lavery's "London Hospital" deserves the palm. It gives us a true and vivid insight into the sufferings of our wounded soldiers, and the care and sympathy bestowed upon them by attentive nurses and doctors. Admirable is the artist's "Armoured Car Station" in a lofty railway station.

"The Interior of Ypres Cathedral after the Bombardment," by Horace van Ruith, with the intact crucifix and the dead soldier; the "Comrades in the Trenches," by Mr. Beadles, are melancholy witnesses of what is going on on the other side of the Channel. The victories of the English Navy are depicted most vividly in the "Sinking of the *Blücher*," by Mr. Norman Wilkinson; "The *Invincible* and the *Inflexible* at the Falkland Islands in Action"; and Mr. Wyllie's splendid sea-piece, "The Masters of the Sea."

Briton Rivière's "A Night Outpost of Xenophon's Greeks on the March of the Ten Thousand" offers us an interesting comparison of how war was waged in those remote ages. George Clausen, in his "Renaissance," foregrounds, as it were, the time after the war. The naked female figure, which is meant to personify Hope, recalls the subtle art of Maurice Denys. The ruins, the three mourning figures, and the blooming crocuses, are all treated in a post-impressionist style, and are an interesting piece of Decorative art; but we prefer the style which is much more his own, and which we again recognize in his delightful "Winter Morning."

In conclusion, we must still mention Mr. Olivier's large canvas, which evidently, because of its title—"Where Belgium Greeted Britain"—occupies the place of honour in Gallery III. It represents the historic incident of King George meeting the King of the Belgians on the road from Dunkirk to Furnes; but we must confess that it does not give us more than a bare illustration of this fact.

In the sculpture-room, Egide Rombeau's "Premier Matin" attracts us most by its mysteriousness. Not without reason it has been greeted by some of the best-known critics as a great piece of sculpture.

L. M. R.

THE ~~INDIAN~~ SOLDIERS' FUND

THE following letter has been received at the India Office from Lieutenant-General Sir James Willcocks, Commanding the Indian Corps in Flanders :

HEADQUARTERS, INDIAN CORPS,
April 4, 1915.

I desire to bring to notice the very great help which this Corps has received from the Indian Soldiers' Fund during the past winter.

Since November last it has kept the Indian troops serving on the Continent provided with a most liberal supply of gifts of all sorts, and has spared no pains to meet the special needs of the Indian soldier in respect to articles peculiar to his wants.

Besides sending very large quantities of gifts (some 3,500 packages have arrived since November) the Fund has undertaken the despatch of gifts addressed to individuals and units by their friends, and these must have amounted to many thousands during the same period.

All ranks in the Corps are anxious to place on record their gratitude to all contributors for their generosity, and to the Committees for the great trouble which has been taken on their behalf.

I am referring in this letter particularly to the Indian Soldiers' Fund, whose efforts have been directed mainly to providing comforts of every description for the Indian soldiers, but our gratitude is also due to the many generous people unconnected with the Fund who have sent gifts for distribution.

It has, I am glad to say, been found possible to send acknowledgments whenever names and addresses have been available, but many gifts have unavoidably gone unacknowledged owing to there being no clue to the donors.

JAMES WILLCOCKS,
Lieutenant-General Commanding Indian Corps.

The following resolution was passed by the Council of the East India Association at a meeting held on Monday, October 19, 1914.

It was proposed by Sir William Ovens Clark, seconded by Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, and carried unanimously :

“That the Association subscribe £50 to the Indian Soldiers' Fund, and that subscriptions be invited from individual Members also.”

(*Signed*) J. POLLEN,
Hon. Secretary.

		£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged	...	135	0	0
The Raja of Lunawada	...	1	0	0
S. Athim, Esq. (second donation)	...	1	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£137	0	0

COMMERCIAL NOTES

THE ANTISEPTIC THYMOL

A GERMAN TRADE THAT SHOULD BE BRITISH—ACTION
BY THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE

HITHERTO the manufacture of the well-known antiseptic thymol has been practically confined to Germany, notwithstanding the fact that ajowan seeds, the oil from which is almost the sole source of commercial thymol, are grown on a large scale only in India, which has thus been supplying Germany with the raw material of a valuable industry. No further supplies of thymol being forthcoming from Germany owing to the war, the price had increased almost eightfold by September last, and is even now 21s. 6d. per pound as against 5s. per pound before the war. There is every reason why the United Kingdom should now become the chief centre for the manufacture of thymol. The manufacturing process is quite simple, and ample supplies of ajowan seed are available in India. The Imperial Institute, which has devoted attention to this subject, has now made inquiries in India, and is prepared to put intending British manufacturers of thymol in touch with Indian exporters of the seed.

Fortunately, too, a British possession can provide a substitute for thymol if such be required. This substance is carvacrol, which is obtained from oils derived from a variety of plants, but particularly from the *origanum* of Cyprus. At the instance of the Imperial Institute this Cyprus *origanum* oil is already being produced in commercial quantities from wild plants in Cyprus, and in 1913 was exported thence to the United Kingdom to the value of £980. It is believed that the plant can be cultivated profitably and on a large scale in Cyprus, and experiments in this direction are understood to have begun.

Further information on plants and drugs will be found in the last issue of the Imperial Institute Report (May, 1915).

